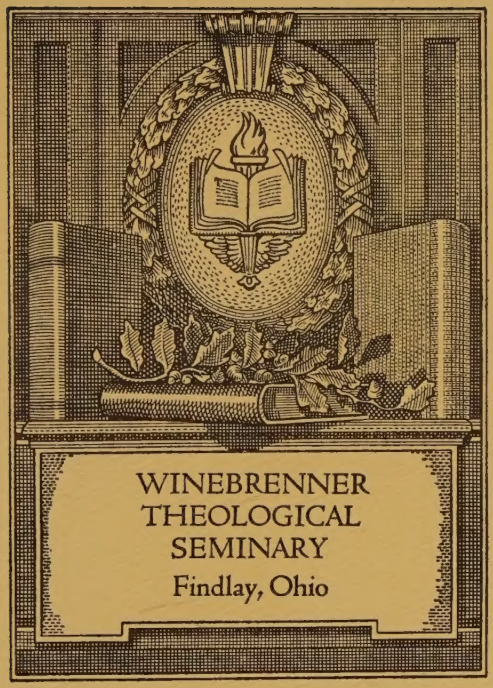
WILLIAM PENN

John W. Graham

LIBRARY
WINEBRENNER THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

8 52
pb



WILLIAM PENN

(See page 327.)

WILLIAM PENN

Founder of Pennsylvania

BY

JOHN W. GRAHAM, M.A.

Author of "The Destruction of Daylight," "Evolution and Empire," "War from a Quaker Point of View."

ILLUSTRATED

LIBRARY
WINEBRENNER THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

LONDON: THE SWARTHMORE PRESS LTD.
RUSKIN HOUSE, 40, MUSEUM ST., W.C. 1

1924

First published in 1917
Second Edition 1918
Reprinted 1924

All Rights Reserved
Reprinted in Saxony by the Kodarprocess from a copy printed in Great Britain by Headley Bro., Moida Press, Ashford, Kent.

Preface

For many years there has been no life of William Penn in print; nor has a "Life" in the usual sense, ever been written by an English Friend.

It is true that the basis of all the biographies is the "Account of the Author's Life," by Joseph Besse, prefixed in 1726 to his edition of Penn's Collected Works, issued in two folio volumes. That invaluable record is, however, of the nature of annals, memoranda which are material for a history, rather than a history itself. It has all the value of a contemporary M S., for Besse says it was chiefly extracted out of Penn's own private memoirs.

Of the same character is the "History of Pennsylvania" published in 1797 in two volumes by Robert Proud, the master of the Friends' School in Philadelphia. He had access to careful records made by order of the Yearly Meeting, preserved in the possession of leading Friends, and kept up to date. So that his also may be regarded as of the value of a contemporary record.

The people of Pennsylvania have always had a wise regard for the importance of their unique history, and in consequence materials abound. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has published many volumes of Proceedings, beginning in 1826 and still continuing. Vol. III., part 2, is full of Penn material, and Vols. IX., X. are the Penn-Logan correspondence, of which a copy is at Devonshire House.

In modern times we owe the best work in the colonial part of the history to Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College, and to my late friend, Howard M.

86- C659

Jenkins, editor of the *Friends' Intelligencer*. Isaac Sharpless's work is in his "A Quaker Experiment in Government" in his "Quakers in the Revolution"; and in his chapters on Pennsylvania in "Quakers in the American Colonies," a book written in collaboration with Rufus M. Jones and Amelia M. Gummere. Howard M. Jenkins's work is in his "Memorial History of Philadelphia," in chapters I.-VIII. of the great work he projected and edited till his death, "Colonial and Federal History of Pennsylvania"; and in his monograph on "The Family of William Penn." All these books have been of great use to me.

"Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn," by Thomas Clarkson, M.A., 2 vols., 1813, was the first real biography attempted. The attractive author of "The Portraiture of Quakerism" felt that the Society whose philanthropic work he aided and whose Christian manner of life he admired from the outside, was a self-centred, retired and practically unknown body, with no spokesmen to the world; and that in the dearth of Quaker scholars and writers, even their most famous leader was little known either to themselves, or outside their select circle. Posterity is greatly indebted to him for his work; but its usefulness has long been over; his style is monotonous and pious and not now easily read, his knowledge was very imperfect, compared with what is now known, and, as a good eighteenth century Evangelical, he did not really understand early Quakerism.

In the middle of the nineteenth century a sudden interest in William Penn developed. Macaulay, in his rooms at the Albany, Piccadilly, was trying to destroy Penn's reputation—W. Hepworth Dixon, editor of the *Athenæum*, stimulated by Macaulay's attack, was writing near Regent's Park his brilliant and interesting book, "William. Penn, an Historical Biography"; and contemporaneously, at Springdale, in far away Virginia, Samuel M. Janney, who kept a school for the daughters of

Friends, and was the leading minister at the neighbouring Goose Creek Meeting House of the "Hicksite" Friends, was devoting himself, as a labour of love, to his "Life of William Penn." I have slept in the room where he wrote it, in the house among the tall trees which his daughter and her husband and children still occupy, and contrasted the peace and sunshine of the grassy campus, where the girls played and Friends' horses were tethered, with the "labour house vast" of literary thought and ancient libraries, the London where Hepworth Dixon wrote. Both writers published in 1851, Dixon first: and they must have been an unwelcome surprise to one another. But they are, in fact, supplementary. If you want to be interested, and to enjoy the work of an excellent literary craftsman, read Hepworth Dixon. If you want to know exactly and fully what happened, turn to Janney, whose book is therefore of greater value to his successors. He incorporates great masses of letters by Penn, Logan and others, which Dixon would think dull. All such documents in this book I have taken from Janney. Both books, however, represent real historical research, and remain useful Lives of Penn. But only second-hand copies are obtainable.

Dixon ignores Penn's writings, which I expect he could not read nor really enjoy. He writes of Penn the statesman, hardly at all of the Quaker, and he fills out the records with picturesque imagination. Janney writes with Quaker plainness and caution, in a very simple narrative style, devoid of art. His book has unfortunately never been much read in England. But, as a Friend and a minister, he had William Penn in his soul.

In 1867, Maria Webb brought out her charming book, "The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century" on which many of us were brought up. It contains new matter on the domestic side, and includes in a short volume the families of Springett, Penn, Penington and Ellwood. It is a woman's book and no worse for that.

In 1872, Hepworth Dixon issued a more popular version of his book, called " A History of William Penn," much shortened and without references.

In 1882 Dr. Stoughton compiled a Life of William Penn for Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, in connection with the Bicentenary of Pennsylvania.

Perhaps I may venture to add that my own interest in the subject began when, in 1882, on the day of the 200th anniversary of William Penn's landing in America, I contributed a youthful paper on " Pennsylvania as a Political Experiment " to the Political Society at King's College, Cambridge, afterwards published in two parts in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1883 and 1884. It was based chiefly on Proud and Dixon and Pennsylvania Historical Society Proceedings. I am glad now to have the opportuniy cf completing a long cherished design. No original investigation into M.S. sources has gone to the making of this volume. For the purpose of a book of this size these have already been well worked over. Nor would any one undertake such a task at the moment, knowing that Albert Cook Myers is at Devonshire House and elsewhere collecting in enormous trunks every scrap of matter written by or about Penn, to be published in the fulness of time in some fifteen or twenty monumental volumes under the patronage of an influential committee in Philadelphia. Other writers must await his results with due modesty and fear.

In this volume I have given greater space to the enormous volume of William Penn's writings than has been given before, and I have tried to bring out his personal characteristics, so that he may be no longer regarded as just one of the mythological heroes of Quakerism, but as a living and striving man.

J. W. G.

Dalton Hall, Manchester.
October, 1916.

Contents

		PAGE
I.	PARENTAGE	13
II.	YOUTH	19
III.	A QUAKER	32
IV.	THE TOWER OF LONDON	39
V.	THE RIGHTS OF JURIES, 1670	50
VI.	BEREAVEMENT AND COURTSHIP	58
VII.	NEWGATE	71
VIII.	A QUAKER APOSTLE IN CONTROVERSY, 1672-75	78
IX.	NEW JERSEY	99
X.	HOLLAND AND GERMANY, 1677	107
XI.	HIGH POLITICS, 1678-80	115
XII.	CHARTER OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1680-1	127
XIII.	THE COLONISTS AND THE FRAME OF GOVERNMENT, 1681-2	133
XIV.	IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1682-4	154
XV.	COURTIER, 1684-8	167
XVI.	HUNTED AND HIDDEN, 1689-93	186
XVII.	AUTHORSHIP IN SOLITUDE, 1691-93	198
XVIII.	PENNSYLVANIA, 1684-1699	213
XIX.	THE BATTLE OF LIFE, 1693-1699	228
XX.	IN PENNSYLVANIA AGAIN, 1699-1701	249
XXI.	FURTHER HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA	266
XXII.	THE FORDS	291
XXIII.	LAST DAYS	296
	NOTE ON MACAULAY'S CHARGES	309
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	314
	CHRONOLOGY	318
	INDEX	323
	NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS	329

Illustrations

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF PENN IN ARMOUR	*Frontispiece*
GRAMMAR SCHOOL, CHIGWELL	19
ADMIRAL PENN	33
GATEWAY OF NEWGATE 1666	48
TABLET COMMEMORATING THE TRIAL IN THE SESSIONS HOUSE, LONDON	50
FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL TITLE-PAGE OF PENN AND MEAD TRIAL	56
GULIELMA MARIA PENN	64
INTERIOR OF KING JOHN FARM, CHORLEY WOOD	76
COPY OF WILLIAM PENN'S MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE	77
BASING HOUSE, RICKMANSWORTH	81
JORDANS MEETING HOUSE	95
MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA	128
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1718	156
PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS	160
INDIAN VERSION OF PENN'S TREATY	161
FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, FOURTH STREET	191
FACSIMILE LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN GIVING ACCOUNT OF DEATH OF GEORGE FOX	192
PENN'S COTTAGE, PHILADELPHIA	224
PORTRAIT OF HANNAH PENN	238
PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PENN IN MIDDLE LIFE	241
JAMES LOGAN	256
INDIAN WALK MONUMENT OF 1737	288
THE BEVAN MEDALLION OF WILLIAM PENN	296
JORDANS BURIAL GROUND	304

CHAPTER 1.

Parentage

WILLIAM PENN'S immediate ancestors were seafaring adventurers of some distinction, and his more remote forerunners were English squires. In the southern part of the county of Bucks, till lately secluded in its lovely woods at a safe distance from all railways, but now being reached by the longest suburban tentacles of London, planting red-tiled villas here and there where the Great Central and Metropolitan Railways run—in this beautiful district, bounded by the Thames, is a parish called Penn. And here the Penns of Penn lived in former days for many generations. Howard M. Jenkins, in his invaluable book on "The Family of William Penn," gives strong reasons for believing that all the Penns originally came from Wales.

A branch of this family occupied a smaller estate, with residences at Penn's Lodge and Minety in the north of Wiltshire. William Penn's grandfather's grandfather, also a William, was the last of these, and at his death, in 1592, the estate was sold. This man's grandson, our hero's grandfather, Giles by name, started life afresh as a sea captain and trader at Bristol. His most frequent voyages were to the towns held by the Barbary pirates in northern Africa, and he developed trade connections with them. It was a dangerous business, for the Spaniards had a paper blockade against the Barbary ports. Finding that there were some hundreds of English men and women kept as captives

in the pirate stronghold of Sallee, he interested himself in trying to have them liberated, and Sallee reduced to order and to submission to the Emperor of Morocco from when it had revolted. He was already known to King Charles I., having brought him Tetuan hawks and Barbary horses, and on his advice and with his guidance a British fleet under Admiral Rainsborough set out to clear out the pirates and liberate the captives. They succeeded, and on the prayer of the London merchants, Captain Penn was sent out in 1637 as British Consul to Sallee, now under the authority of Muley Mohammed, Emperor of Morocco.

The trading business and the ship were taken over by his son William, the future Admiral, at the early age of seventeen. When he was twenty-one, he received a Commission in the Royal Navy. Next year he was married to Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, a Rotterdam merchant.

The absence of knowledge about William Penn's mother is unfortunate for his biographer. One wonders whether there is anything in his heredity on his mother's side, to account for him. Among the Penns he seems a kind of isolated sport. Neither among his fore-elders nor among his descendants do we know of anyone resembling him, except that his father had great ability and some religious perception, and his son Springett promised to be a sympathetic soul. Since all the biographers wrote there has been unearthed information which makes out Margaret Jasper more likely to be Anglo-Irish than Dutch.* The name is English, and no record of such a name has rewarded some search into Rotterdam records. The new information states that John Jasper and his wife Marie (a name which sounds foreign) and family lived at Ballycase, Co. Clare, before 1641. Also before that date his daughter Margaret was

* Albert Cook Myers, in *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, 1908 (Vol. V., p. 118).

married to Nicasius Van der Scure or Van der Schuren of Kilconry, Co. Clare, by the rites of the Anglican church. This is from the register of Attestations of the Dutch Reformed Church of Austin Friars, London. This fact, and his name, would point to the husband being a Dutchman. He died very soon, and as Margaret Van der Schuren, his young widow was married to Captain Wm. Penn at S. Martin's Church, Ludgate, London, on January 6th, 1643, old style, or 1644 new style. A. C. Myers has it June 6th, 1643—but as Pepys attended a wedding-day dinner at Admiral Penn's on January 6th, 1661-2, where there were eighteen mince pies to notify eighteen years of married life, we must I think accept that date. These scattered hints would fit most easily into a suggestion that the Rotterdam merchant was Anglo-Irish or English by race, and that her name was the only Dutch feature about the bride. If Lady Penn was brought up in the west of Ireland, it is not unnatural that her husband should obtain an Irish sequestrated estate from Cromwell, rather than one in England, of which there were many. Pepys, who may not have been well-informed, calls her Dutch. In his diary we read under August 19th, 1664 :

" To Sir W. Pen's, to see his lady for the first time, who is a well looked, fat, short old Dutchwoman, but one that has been heretofore pretty handsome, and is now very discreet, and I believe hath more wit than her husband. Here we stayed talking a good while, and very well pleased I was with the old woman."

This is high praise from the spiteful Pepys. The curious thing is that Pepys should never have seen the wife of his neighbour and colleague, with whom he was very intimate, between 1660 and 1664, particularly at the wedding-day dinner. It is clear that our information is very incomplete about one of whom we should like to have full knowledge.

William, their eldest child, the subject of this book, was born on October 14th, 1644.

The young naval captain was living on or close to Tower Hill, conveniently near the river, and his boy was baptized in the church of All Hallows, Barking. Captain Penn showed conspicuous ability. His promotion was rapid and deserved.

We know that his mother was tender and helpful to her Quaker son, even through his early troubles with his father. In the Restoration period, at any rate, she was a gay woman of fashion, and did the usual riotous entertaining at their house in Navy Gardens. Pepys records that during the Dutch War in 1665, when Admiral Penn was away with the fleet :

" Going to my Lady Ballen, there found a great many women with her in her chamber, merry ; my Lady Penn and her daughter among others, when my Lady Penn flung me down on the bed, [he was a little man], and herself and others, one after another, upon me, and very merry we were."

They were evidently short of men's society in those days of war. Pepys again, the next year:

" Supped at home and very merry, and about nine to Mrs. Mercer's gate . . . and there mighty merry ; My Lady Penn and Peg going thither with us, and Nan Wright, till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks and burning one another, and the people over the way ; and at last, our business being much spent, we went into Mrs. Mercer's and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils."

Then to Pepys's lodgings in the Navy Office, where they drank more and began to dance. Pepys and two more men put on women's clothes. They dressed the maid-servant like a boy and got her to dance a jig.

" Nan Wright, my wife and Peg Penn put on periwigs ; thus we spent till three or four in the morning ; mighty merry and then parted and to bed."

It is the more baffling not to know more of another side of Penn's mother, seeing that this is what Pepys can give us,

Captain Penn's naval duty for some years was to cruise about St. George's Channel between Milford Haven and the Cove of Cork. He became Rear Admiral almost immediately, Vice-Admiral of England next, acting about the Straits of Gibraltar, and General (a term then used in one or two cases for a commander on the sea as well as on land) in the first Dutch war at thirty-two. His chief exploit is in all English histories. He was placed in command of one of the two fleets which Cromwell sent against the Spanish dominions in 1655. Blake was to operate in European waters and Penn in the West Indies, where, if possible, he was to take San Domingo first, and some place on the mainland afterwards. The expedition failed. Venables, the general on land, was defeated in his attack on San Domingo; but, in order to have something to show, Penn captured Jamaica on his way home without orders, and so began the British West Indian Empire. Both generals were stripped of their offices and sent to the Tower by Oliver.

The fact was that both were traitors to his government. Penn had written to Prince Charles in exile offering him the support of his army and fleet when required, and Oliver's spies kept him informed of the correspondence. Admiral Penn was a professional sailor and careless of politics. He was willing to serve the party in power. He had already changed his allegiance from King to Parliament and to Protector. He was now paving the way for a return to Royalism, when Royalty returned, and he duly became Sir William Penn at the Restoration. It was not a very noble line to take, in fact it might be described much more severely; but it was a line fairly common among the "average sensual men" of that time. He spent five weeks in the Tower and was then released on condition that he lost his commission as General, and left London to reside on the Irish lands which the Protector had given him, the town, castle and manor of Macroom in County Cork, formerly the pro-

perty of the Royalist Lord Muskerry. Here he spent time and money in planting and improving his estate, and in buying further land, raising its value, in the three years he had it, to £858 a year. He was one of the many who owed much to the Protector's persistent clemency. On the fall of Richard Cromwell, he sailed to Holland and offered his services to Charles.

He was made a Commissioner for the Navy, and entered Parliament as member for Weymouth. But he had to restore the Macroom estate to its original owner. To make up to him for this, he was made Governor of Kinsale, and out of the Puritan property confiscated, Shangarry Castle and estate in County Cork were handed over to him. His rank as Admiral was restored; and the family embarked on the gay and extravagant career proper to Charles's friends.

Shangarry is on the Atlantic, bounded on the west by Cork Harbour, and on the east side towards Youghal by an inlet of the sea, so that it is a peninsula, with sea breezes bracing the soft climate of those parts. The estate is four miles long by two broad. Its coast line is visible to the passengers steaming by from America. It remained the chief source of William Penn's income during his lifetime. It is still nine miles from a railway; Midleton is the nearest station, on the line between Cork and Youghal. The castle is now a formless heap of ruin; and the estate is divided into two parts, one owned by the Penn-Gaskells, who are descendants of Admiral Penn, and the other by the descendants of a man named Durdin, who was for sixty days the husband of the widow of William Penn's grandson. This division was the upshot of a long Chancery case.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL, CHIGWELL, ESSEX.

Where William Penn was educated in childhood. The School was founded by Archbishop Harsnett in 1629.
The engraving is from an old print.

CHAPTER II

Youth

Two other children, Margaret and Richard, were born to Admiral Penn and his wife. When the children were still very young, they moved into the country to Wanstead in Essex, and lived there during the successful period of the Admiral's career under the Parliament and the Commonwealth. Hainault Forest, close by, would be a glorious haunt for an enterprising boy. One attraction of Wanstead was the nearness of Chigwell Grammar School, then new and famous; and thither till he was about twelve years old William Penn was sent. The school was under rigid statutes and severe management, and the neighbourhood was strongly Puritan.

When the boy was eleven his father came out of the Tower a banished and disgraced man; and the family removed to Macroom, in County Cork. Here occurred the first meeting with the Quaker Thomas Loe, whose preaching was to influence the whole life of the boy.

"He said, while he was but a child living at Cork with his father, Thomas Loe came thither. When it was rumoured a Quaker was come from England, his father proposed to some others to be like the noble Bereans, to hear him before they judged him. He accordingly sent to Thomas Loe to come to his house, where he had a meeting in the family. Though William was very young, he observed what effect Thomas Loe's preaching had on the hearers. A black servant of his father's could not contain himself from weeping aloud; and, looking on his father,

he saw the tears running down his cheeks also. He (little William) then thought within himself, 'What if they would all be Quakers?' This opportunity he never quite forgot—the remembrance of it still recurring at times."*

The childish event which is of importance in this biography is a spiritual experience which befel the boy at the age of twelve. When alone in his room "he was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort, and, as he thought, an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest convictions of the being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communion with Him. He believed that the seal of Divinity had been put upon him at this moment, or that he had been awakened, or called to a holy life."†

Thus the religious expert, the *anima naturaliter Christiana*, shows young. This impact from the spiritual world will be regarded, as to its origin, differently according to the different general theories men hold concerning man and God and the relation between them. Every one, however, will agree that the experience shows a remarkable sensitiveness to religious impressions, which the rest of his life, especially his undergraduate days, continued. For myself, I see no reason for not taking these impressions at their face value, and believing that we really have here the record of a Divine message sent to a soul capable of receiving it.

The boy took an active grown-up interest in his father's estate improvements, and in all the athletic enjoyments of the country. He was growing tall, graceful and well knit. Private tutors attended to his education, and his remarkable ability pointed to a University career. In 1660, just after his father's fortunes rose, he was

* "Penns and Peningtons," p. 174, from the Huntly M.S.

† Clarkson's "Life of Penn." He says in his letter to Mary Pennyman (Complete Works, i. 159) that "the knowledge of God from the living witness, from thirteen years of age, hath been dear to me."

entered as a gentleman commoner at Christchurch, Oxford.*

He began at once with a group of friends to hold meetings for exhortation and prayer, " withdrawing from the national way of worship." This brought down the College authorities upon them as sectaries ; thus imprudently turning the bright flame of devoutness to a consuming fire, fighting against spiritual tyranny. At the age of sixteen he was fined for nonconformity. An open air meeting held by his old acquaintance, Thomas Loe, who was an Oxford citizen, attracted the boy undergraduate, whose spirit chimed at once with the Quaker gospel of the Inward Christ.

In his earliest published work, William Penn describes the Universities as " signal places for idleness, looseness, profaneness, prodigality, and gross ignorance." Among the dons at Christchurch, however, was that great man, John Locke, twelve years older than young Penn, with whom in later life he was to have very friendly relations. We do not know that any acquaintanceship arose at Oxford.

About the spring of 1662, the Admiral's son was sent down for being religious in too original a way. The Huntly MS.† which is supposed to have Penn's authority, states that he was sent down for writing a book which the priests and masters of the college did not like. The Anglican triumph was fresh and the persecuting spirit keen.

Clarkson has it that Penn was sent down for joining with other undergraduates in tearing off the newly commanded gowns from men's backs. This gown was supposed to be a step towards Popery. The Court was at that time making definite attempts to capture the Universities for a high ritual, and the subject was very

* Besse has it 1659, but is sometimes a little wrong in dates. Anthony Wood's Oxford Register gives 1660.

† " Penns and Peningtons," p. 174.

much alive. There is, however, an inaccuracy in the account, which says that Robert Spencer participated in the ragging. But Penn and Spencer, afterwards Earl of Sunderland, did not meet till 1663 in France.* The story represents an unverified tradition.

As there are geniuses in music and in painting, in science and even in trade, whose great capacity comes out in their youth—Mozart's and Benjamin West's, Clerk Maxwell's and Rockefeller's; so there are religious geniuses who are apt to function in youth also.

We do not all have it in us to become religious leaders. No mere virtue will make us openers of the gates of God to our fellows. Vision is unequally distributed, and vision is of the essence of great religious achievement. Of the founders of Quakerism, George Fox was noticeably religious from his boyhood; his religion drove him from home and friends and business at twenty-three. Isaac Penington was tender and much drawn to God from his earliest years; and so was his wife. So, too, was Margaret Fell of Swarthmoor. No religious revival comes without gifted souls like these to lead it.

Such religious geniuses seldom feel at home among established forms. These are devised to make a decorous home for the dull, the feeble-souled and the religious slacker. They are alloyed with errors, and they substitute routine for reality where this has failed. So the path of those who have learnt from youth upwards much of the Way, and know its landmarks, is often a path of thorns. Their type of genius does not lead to honours, to the House of Lords or to the National Gallery, but to martyrdom. After their day men build the tombs of the prophets. There was for a long time a portrait of William Penn in the Hall of Christchurch.

He thus went home from Oxford disgraced in the eyes of his father. The Admiral first argued with him, then thrashed him and finally turned him out of doors. But

* See Penn's letter to Spencer, 1683. Janney, p. 22.

he soon cooled down and hit on a better method of exorcism. He sent the boy to France on a tour with " Persons of Quality " to complete his education. Robert Barclay, his friend in later years, had a similar training in Paris, but was hurriedly recalled by his father who feared that Rome was attracting him. William Penn, at the wise age of eighteen, ran real danger of a different kind from the gaiety and worldly charm of French society. In fact " a quite different conversation had diverted his mind from the serious thoughts of religion."

One incident of his life in Paris has been accidentally recorded. He gives it in " No Cross, No Crown," as an instance of the foolishness of the theory of " honour." A man with a drawn sword in his hand waylaid him at eleven at night as he was going home, and demanded satisfaction for ignoring his polite salutation in the street, where he had raised his hat to Penn without response. The young Englishman had never seen the bow, but when his assailant made several passes, Penn responded and succeeded in disarming him, but did not kill or wound him. He says the Earl of Crawford's servant was by, probably accompanying Penn home as one of the party travelling together.

Most of the time in France, however, was spent not in gaieties in Paris, but in study at Saumur, in the pleasant country of Anjou. Here he was taught by Professor Moses Amyraut, of the Huguenot College. Two quiet years of work here greatly extended the classical and theological knowledge begun at Oxford, and added a special knowledge of the French language and literature. He then went through Switzerland into Italy with Robert Spencer, and had his first meeting with Spencer's uncle and his own future friend, Algernon Sidney, then living in exile.

Penn came home accomplished in French and in polite and courtly behaviour, but the change of environment brought the old crisis back. Then came the

great struggle between the flesh and the spirit. Duty to his father, a distinguished career at Court, the pressure of his social circle, found an echo in his own bright and sprightly disposition, and pointed to pleasure as his goal. But he was not built that way. The power of the Spirit overcame, and he chose the beatitude of those who are persecuted for Christ's sake.

This fierce conflict seems to us not so real nor so common as it was among these saints of the Restoration. Are times better? Is the "world" not so bad as it was? Or are we a diluted type of Christian? Separation from the ordinary ways of our social circle, unless in a few details, is not practised nor required. Perhaps, even then, "the world" was not so bad as they thought it was. We should however be presumptuous, if in our ignorance we tried to judge them. What we must guard against is pure imitation of them, apart from a living conviction of our own. No age can copy another without losing sincerity and endangering charity. None can deride the great men of another without losing humility and failing in the historical sense.

We find William Penn at twenty-four urging, in a long epistle, a young lady friend of his to leave her entertainments, frolics and indulgences. He realises how different his style is from that of the gallant of the period; and concludes:

"I have not sought fine words or chiming expressions; the gravity, the concernment and nature of my subject admits no such butterflies. In short, be advised, my Friend, to be serious, and to ponder that which belongs to thy eternal peace. Retire from the noise and clatter of tempting visibles, to the beholding Him who is invisible, that He may reign in thy soul, God over all, exalted and blessed for ever. Farewell."

In order of time, however, we have not yet reached this letter, by some four years. In 1664 his father had called him home. His two years of quiet study by the Loire go far to account for the scholarship which he afterwards

showed in his writings. His knowledge of the text of the Bible was great, and his quotation of it ready and voluminous. He was an easy reader of the classics; Dutch he had learnt early from his mother, very thorough French was the result of his living at Paris and Saumur, and he spoke German and Italian. He was evidently by mental temperament a good linguist. Apart from languages his studies were theological, and so far on Calvinistic Huguenot lines. This was the usual preparation for Quakerism. All the founders passed through the current Calvinism, and their revolt from it was the more decided and complete, the more they had tried to harmonise its incongruities and accept its essential immorality.

All report says that William Penn was an unusually handsome man; both now at twenty and afterwards at forty, and the Cavalier's long locks and fine dress doubtless set off his natural good looks. In every way the world was at his feet. To give him employment he read law at Lincoln's Inn.

Pepys (always inclined to be spiteful when talking privately to his Diary) described him as "a most modish person, grown a fine gentleman." "Something of learning he has got, but a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb, and affected manner of gait and speech."*

One reason for the sudden summons to England was the outbreak of war with the Dutch, whom France showed some secret sign of supporting. So that it was safer to be on this side the Channel. James, Duke of York, himself no sailor, was—with the usual inefficiency which goes with active royalty—Lord High Admiral of the English fleet, and took one of the three squadrons under his personal command; he therefore took with him his friend Admiral Penn, as "Great Captain Commander," on his flagship to tell him what to do.

This made Mr. Pepys very envious.

* Diary, Vol. I., p. 267.

" That Sir William Penn should go in the same vessel as the Duke is an honour which, God forgive me, I could grudge him for his knavery and dissimulation." (Diary, ii. 235.)

On Penn's advice the Duke of York filled up his commands with the tried sailors of the Commonwealth, Puritan or not. The result was victory in June, 1665. William was once employed by his father and the Duke to bear dispatches from the fleet via Harwich to King Charles personally. That summer of 1665 was the summer of the Great Plague in London. The solemnity of this great reality seems to have aided William to throw off the frivolities which his parents were urging upon him, and to come out victorious in his inward struggle. Signs of soberness and gravity alarmed his father, and to prevent any scandalous outbreak of religion the young man was sent to Ireland to occupy his mind with something practical, in the management of the Shangarry estate, and as clerk of the cheque at Kinsale Harbour.*

First, however, he was to call on the Duke of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, at Dublin. In the Commonwealth days he and the banished Admiral Penn had drunk many a surreptitious health to the exiled Charles ; and the Duke welcomed his old friend's son and sent glowing accounts home of his gay spirit, charming manners, and dashing ways.

A mutiny among the soldiers occurred at Carrickfergus, whose castle fell into their hands. Ormonde's son, Lord Arran, was sent to quell it, and his new friend took service with him. They had a stiff task, but stormed the fort yard by yard ; in the fighting the coolness and courage of the Admiral's son was marked by all; and Ormonde promised him the command of a company at Kinsale, which he, having tasted the joy of fighting, was most eager to obtain. But it did not happen to suit the Admiral, who preferred that he should keep

* There is some doubt whether this was exactly his position. The point is not important.

the profitable civilian appointment of clerk of the cheque. In anticipation of his military rank, however, the young man had his portrait painted in armour: incongruous as it is we are glad to have it, for as a Quaker he never sat for his portrait.* But he had to stick to his civil clerkship and stayed managing the business of the port, auditing, and representing the Crown on the business side. He became very intimate with his father's old friend Roger Boyle, now Earl of Orrery and President of Munster, one of the family who produced Richard Boyle, the founder of the Royal Society. Roger's line was poetry and drama, not science. He gave his young friend, by way of satisfying his military ambitions, the title of Ensign in the cavalry. As the Dutch were now masters of the seas, Kinsale had to be guarded with care. Colonel Wallis, the former Puritan owner of Shangarry Castle, brought a suit against Admiral Penn, denying that his lands were forfeit to the Crown. Ireland was full of such suits at this time of political change and repeated confiscations: and much diplomacy was needed by the young man faced with the fierce old Cromwellian. His title to the lands, we may remember, was only recent, and as political as Penn's. William came over to London to see the case through the Land Commissioners' Court, and the estate was, as might be expected from a Royalist commission, confirmed to his father at the end of 1666. The rental was over a thousand a year. In February 1667, his sister Margaret ("Peg,") was married to Anthony Lowther, F.R.S., of Marske, Yorkshire, a wealthy man of good family and high character; her father is said to have given her a fortune on the occasion, which was one of great display. After the wedding William returned to Cork to attend to business. He was now near the end of the unsettled years of his youth. Maria Webb, quoting the Huntly MS.† writes, (p. 175):

* Granville Penn says so, but I think it is doubtful.

† This paper is headed: "An account of the convincement of Wm. Penn, delivered by himself to Thomas Harvey about thirty years since,

" The manuscript goes on to say that, on his second coming to Cork, being the only one of the family there, and requiring some articles of clothing, he went to the shop of a woman Friend in the city to procure them. He expected she would have known him, but she did not. He was too much altered from the days of his boyhood, when the Friend had seen him, to be now recognised by her. However, he told her who he was, and he spoke to her of Thomas Loe, and of the meeting at his father's house ten or eleven years before. The manuscript says, ' She admired at his remembering, but he told her he should never forget it ; also if he only knew where that person was, if 'twere a hundred miles off, he would go again to hear him.' She said he need not go so far, for the Friend had lately come thither, and would be at meeting the next day. So he went to the meeting, and when Thomas Loe stood up to preach, he was exceedingly reached, and wept much."

Thomas preached from the words, " There is a faith that overcometh the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world." Doubtless the sermon reached the deep places of the soul and laid bare the meaning of William Penn's experiences. He was " convinced " and became a Quaker. The crisis had come.

The influence of the obscure and otherwise forgotten Thomas Loe on his famous convert on three occasions, as boy, undergraduate, and man, is truly remarkable. Perhaps the impression made in childhood at Cork, at an impressionable age, may have helped the later influence (see p. 33). It has been impossible to reach close touch with Penn's inward life between Oxford and his convincement. But he has himself left a summary account of it, relating an interview with friends abroad.*

" I let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656 ; and how, at times, betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited

---

which Thomas Harvey related to me in the following brief manner." It is dated 1727, and was kept among the MSS. of the Huntly family of High Wycombe, Bucks.

* Travels in Holland and Germany.

me, and the divine impressions he gave me of myself; of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father, whipping, beating and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London; in fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world, of the irreligiousness of the religious of it; then, of my mournful and bitter cries to him that he would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolution to follow him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth; and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things." "It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his Eternal Word, through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely, Thomas Loe. I related to them the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the invectiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions, what a sign and wonder they made of me, but, above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against mine own inward vain affections and thoughts."

This is a record of development, of effort, of the strivings of a living thing, of a soul growing to maturity. The men most temperamentally religious conform to this type, normally. A strong emotional uplift in childhood, a clear view of the Divine nature and Presence then, but after that much pilgrim work, doubts, strivings, changes of faith, the alternations of gaiety with moodiness which his parents noticed in William Penn, and then, about the time of completed manhood, in the early twenties, a life-long consecration to a tested call. Thenceforth the main battle is outside. A great putting forth of energy results. The religious or social reformer is made. The great leader comes when this religious gift arises in a man whose other qualities are attractive or powerful. Beauty of form and face,

the mirror both of gentleness and strength, great intellectual power, the best education then obtainable, dauntless courage, wealth and rank, added in William Penn's case outward qualifications to the inward anointing.

It will be noted that Penn was thus not one of the original founders of Quakerism, the "first Publishers of Truth." Fifteen years had passed since the sermon on Fir Bank Fell, near Sedbergh, in 1652, when the local groups of Seekers had gathered round George Fox and formed the earliest Friends' Meetings. Penn was a boy of eight at that time. He came late, as Paul into Christianity, and brought like him the culture of the upper class into a body founded by simpler folk.

We have not given a particularly attractive account of the Admiral; yet the bond of affection between father and son was clearly real and close. Such incidents as the flogging and expulsion from home which followed the Oxford trouble, would then be a less uncommon and less epoch-making incident between father and son than it would now; and the alienation cannot have lasted long. We have the following letter, for instance, written by the son to the father at sea, from Harwich, on the morning of his arrival with despatches to the King in 1665, noted above.

"From Harwich, 23d April, 1665.

"HONOURED FATHER:—

"We could not arrive here sooner than this day, about twelve of the clock, by reason of the continued cross winds, and, as I thought, foul weather. I pray God, after all the foul weather and dangers you are exposed to, and shall be, that you come home as secure. And I bless God my heart does not in any way fail, but firmly believe that if God has called you out to battle, he will cover your head in that smoky day. And, as I never knew what a father was till I had wisdom enough to prize him, so I can safely say, that now, of all times, your concerns are most dear to me. It's hard, meantime, to lose both a father and a friend, . . .

"W. P."

For most of the time in the critical years now to be recorded, we find the Admiral quietly supporting his son wherever he could help him in a tight place, and the son at times writing almost daily to his father.

It is easy to realise what a blow to all his social hopes and excellent prospects was given to a worldly-wise parent by his son's astonishing freak of joining himself to a body regarded as ignorant Puritan fanatics from the barbarous north.

CHAPTER III

A Quaker

PERSECUTION began at once. A Friends' Meeting was broken up in Cork in September, 1667, and the Friends haled before the Mayor. Seeing Penn's cavalier attire, and finding that he was son of the owner of Shangarry Castle, the mayor offered to release him on his giving bond for his good behaviour. But he refused any advantage over the other Friends. From his prison he wrote a letter to his friend the Earl of Orrery, who gave an order for his release.

News of these wretched transactions were sent by local noblemen to the Admiral in London, and William was ordered home. Terrible for both father and son was the conflict of conviction battling with real family affection on both sides. Finally, the father, in despair of more, begged his son at least to doff his hat to himself, to the King and to the Duke of York, his father's friend and the heir to the throne.

Truly, it seems a little matter to us, and even a sheer mistake on the Quaker's part. William Penn asked leave to consider it alone. He came out from his private struggle and prayer determined to refuse even that. We can sympathise with both father and son and with human nature which makes tragedies out of so little.

"Hat Honour" can only be judged fairly when we realise that it stood then for much more. People wore their hats at meals. Pepys took cold by dining without one. They were worn indoors all the time.

ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PENN.

After the painting by Sir Peter Lely, at Greenwich Hospital.

In church they were only taken off at the solemn utterance of the name of God. But French fashions had come in, and the habit of doffing the hat was one. It stood as the central symbol of a wicked way of life. To reserve the act for reverence to God alone was simply to stand for the conservative upright English Puritan way of life. It was really an unquakerly error to stiffen a symbol into the substance; but there were extenuating circumstances. We know from other evidence that the men to whom this apparent crotchet appealed were neither bigots nor fools.

The Huntly MS.* gives a narrative of the critical moments between father and son:

"When the morning came, they went in the coach together, without William knowing where they were going, till the coachman was ordered to drive into the Park. Thus he found his father's intent was to have private intercourse with him. He commenced by asking him what he could think of himself, after being trained up in learning and courtly accomplishments, nothing being spared to fit him to take the position of an ambassador at foreign courts, or that of a minister at home, that he should now become a Quaker. William told him that it was in obedience to the manifestation of God's will in his conscience, but that it was a cross to his own nature. He also reminded him of that former meeting in Cork, and told him that he was himself at that time convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Quakers; only that the grandeur of the world had been felt to be too great a sacrifice to give up. After more discourse they turned homewards. They stopped at a tavern on the way, where Sir William ordered a glass of wine. On entering a room on this pretext, he immediately locked the door. Father and son were now face to face, under the influence of stern displeasure on the one hand, and on the other, prayerful feeling to God for strength rightly to withstand or hear what was coming. William, remembering his early experience on returning from Oxford, expected something desperate. The thought arose that the Admiral was going to cane him. But, instead of that, the father, looking earnestly at him,

* "Penns and Peningtons," p. 177.

and laying his hands down on the table, solemnly told him he was going to kneel down to pray to Almighty God that his son might not be a Quaker, and that he might never again go to a Quaker meeting. William, opening the casement, declared that before he would listen to his father putting up such a prayer to God, he would leap out of the window. At that time a nobleman was passing the tavern in his coach, and observing Sir William's at the door, he alighted. Being directed to the room in which father and son were together, his knock came in time to arrest the catastrophe. He had evidently heard of William's return, and of the Admiral's high displeasure. After saluting the former, the MS. says that ' he turned to the father, and told him he might think himself happy in having a son who could despise the grandeur of the world, and refrain from the vices which so many were running into.' "

They paid a visit before they returned home to another nobleman, and the discourse with him also turned on the change in William. Here again, the father was congratulated and the son's resolution commended. These congratulations were cheering to the young convert, whatever they may have been to the father.

The Admiral expelled his son from home and threatened to disinherit him. He was dependent on charity and on what his mother privately sent him. Time—indeed, no long time—mollified and reconciled the father. His son's return, very likely arranged by his mother, was regarded with a blind eye, though for a time his father refused openly to recognise him.

In 1668 William Penn began his service as a Quaker minister, which he was to keep up for fifty years. His earliest published work dates also from this year. The flow of authorship lasted so long as he retained his mental faculties. His Collected Works include fifty-eight original volumes; they cover 1,586 closely printed folio pages. His printed words reach one million and a quarter.

To give an account in any detail, or indeed any account at all, of this enormous literary output, would be beyond our scope here. Nor would it be serviceable to analyse or

critically estimate every work. For the same Quaker gospel is expounded many times over. Each book or pamphlet was written for its occasion; and no body of collected works was ever in the author's mind. Nevertheless, it is of real biographical importance to understand the nature of the enthusiasm which laid hold on William Penn in the heyday of his youth and lasted him with no looking back nor momentary hesitation till the end of his long life, bearing him through persecution and calamity, and stimulating his ceaseless labour. His first work, only the length of a bulky pamphlet, will reveal this. Its descriptive title page, like all the title pages of that day, gives the purpose and drift of what follows. It runs :—

TRUTH EXALTED in a short but sure Testimony against all these Religions, Faiths, and Worships, that have been formed and followed in the darkness of Apostasy :—and for that Glorious Light which is now risen and shines forth, in the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers as the alone good old way of Life and Salvation.

" Presented to Princes, Priests and People, that they may repent, believe and obey.

" *By William Penn*, whom Divine Love constrains in an holy contempt, to trample on Egypt's glory, not fearing the King's wrath, having beheld the majesty of Him who is invisible."

This, properly spaced out, and with capital letters and various types employed, gave a vivid summary to a possible reader. The author summons the various Churches to answer his condemnation. First, the Papists are attacked root and branch, on grounds familiar to all Protestants. Then the Protestants, *i.e.*, " those who profess the Scriptures for the Rule of Life and Doctrine," are bidden " to stand their trial by them." The Church of England is accused of " not being yet got out of the borders of Babylon's form, and being altogether in her lustful, proud, persecuting and wicked nature." The persecutions under Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.,

are mentioned, " but more particularly the many thousands now of late that have been clubbed, bruised, imprisoned, exiled, poisoned to death by stinking dungeons, and ruined in their outward estates, contrary to law, Christian or human." Upon them the invective of Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel is poured. " You deny present Revelation to any, though, without it, as Christ saith, no man can know God, whom to know is life eternal, and place the ground of Divine knowledge in human arts and sciences, that thereby you may engross a function to yourselves, and keep up your trade of yearly gain upon the poor people, preaching sin for term of life, thereby rendering invalid the glorious power of the second Adam, and indulging people in transgression." This constant dwelling upon the helplessness of human nature caused one of the central lines of protest of the Society, which stood for the perfectibility of human nature. Our author demands Scriptural authority, since the Scriptures are avowed as the rule, for tithes, worldly pomp of Bishops and their lordship and authority, for

" forms of prayer, litanies, responses, singing, choristers, organs, altars, bowing, surplices, square caps, hoods, rockets, fonts, baby-baptism, Holy days, with much more such like dirty trash and foul superstition."

" Are ye baptized by the Holy Ghost and with Fire, crucified through the daily cross to the world, born again and your affections set on things above. But alas! poor souls! are you not at ' Have mercy upon us miserable sinners, there is no health in us, ' from seven to seventy ? "

The tract goes on to lay at the door of the Church the manifold wickedness of the Restoration period; a connection inappropriate now and generally; but the alliance between Church and Court could hardly help occurring to those persecuted by that alliance.

He then attacks the separatists of various names for living on the tradition of their living founders, " compassing yourselves with the sparks of your own fire."

He denies their doctrine of imputed righteousness, as being a cloak and excuse for sin, also the common (though not universal) doctrine of election and reprobation, "whereby the glorious God of mercy is represented more infamously unjust than the worst of men." They are said "to rely on the conceivings and apprehensions of other men and books well refuted, whereby God's grace and light have lost their office of leading and teaching." I am afraid that this danger is one to which every religious body, including the Society of Friends, is and always will be, subject.

From these he turns to preach the new and living faith he had embraced :

"This is the second Adam, the quickening Spirit, the Lord from Heaven, the new and spiritual man, the heavenly bread, the true vine, the flesh and blood that was given for the life of the world, the second covenant, the Law writ in the heart and spirit, put in the inward parts, the way in which the fool cannot err, the truth before deceit was, the life that's hid in God, eternal in the heavens, glorified before the world began ; the power, the wisdom, the righteousness of God, the plant of renown, the royal seed that bruiseth the serpent's head ; in short, the grace which hath appeared unto all men, teaching them to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godlikely and soberly in this present world."

In such rhetoric and flood of quotation, does he attempt to express the undefinable. But if the reader grasps it, he has got at the heart of the Quaker message. In such storm of controversy and fierceness of attack it was born. Perhaps it could not, one may even say definitely it could not, have come into existence and survived without this fierce fire of destructive testimony, these garments rolled in blood. It needed spiritual assertiveness to survive.

Pepys tried to read this book. "A ridiculous, nonsensical book. I was ashamed to read in it," comments that worthy.

But we cannot and would not write in this vein now, of other Christian bodies. We desire to hold our own with more urbanity and more charity. We must remember that this tract expresses the zeal of a young convert at the age of twenty-four.

We must not forget nevertheless, that we have not had to meet the episcopal argument of gaol fever. Very many of the young men who founded the Society had fallen in the battle when William Penn became a leader: and the gaols were, for a generation, always full of martyrs.

CHAPTER IV

The Tower of London

A CONTROVERSY of little importance in itself soon came in William Penn's way; but as it is somewhat typical of the atmosphere of those days, it is worth recording, particularly as it led to imprisonment and to important authorship.

A Presbyterian minister, Thomas Vincent, whose "lectures" in Spittleyard were connived at by the Government, lost two members of his congregation, a mother and daughter, to the Quakers. Hence an attack from the pulpit on their "erroneous and damnable doctrines." Rather would the reverend gentleman indulge in gross immorality or drink poison than embrace Quakerism. Fear of hell and fear of husband and father equally failed to break the resolution of the two newly convinced Friends. George Whitehead and William Penn demanded a public debate in the Spitalfields chapel to clear their characters, and it was fixed for two in the afternoon. The Presbyterian congregation were, however, advised to come at one and occupy the seats. Three assistants were also unexpectedly provided for Thomas Vincent. Amid uproar and much disorder and abuse the debate went on till after dark. Any less hopeful environment for a discussion about the Trinity, dealing with substances, subsistences, manifestations, operations and persons, could hardly be found. The matter was closed in the unfair manner sometimes employed in religious controversy, by Mr. Vincent falling on his knees and praying, "with many strangely affected

whines " against his opponents as blasphemers. He then dismissed the assembly and had the candles put out. But Friends continued to reply, and the people stayed. So Mr. Vincent, very pale, came in with a candle and promised them another debate. This promise being broken, Friends appeared at his next service, and spoke after he had done, though he " slunk away," and left them stranded without an opponent.

This caused William Penn to relieve his pent up feelings in an important, though brief work, " *The Sandy Foundation Shaken.*" This was a refutation of three of the current doctrines, viz. :—

1. One God subsisting in three distinct and separate Persons.
2. The impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction.
3 The justification of impure persons by an imputative righteousness.

" from the authority of Scripture testimonies and right reason." There was indeed ample testimony to his hand from both sources. The three texts selected for the title page may be taken as samples.

" But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things."

" Who is a God like unto thee that pardoneth iniquity ? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy."

" For I will not justify the wicked."

It is a sign of soundness and of well-guided freedom that the Quakers' claim to direct knowledge of spiritual things led them first to an attack upon this preposterous Puritan scholasticism. Penn proved his case, to a modern reader's mind, abundantly. " Too good for him ever to have writ it," snarls Pepys.

Vincent called on the Government to put down by force the writer of this attack upon what passed then for essential Christian verities. It happened unfortunately

that Arlington the Secretary of State had had and was still having a quarrel with Sir William Penn, in fact abetting a hostile intrigue against his position. He had not succeeded as yet in ruining his enemy; but to attack him through his eccentric son seemed to a worthless buffoon like Lord Arlington an excellent chance.

The vulnerable point in William Penn's position was that he had not obtained the Bishop of London's licence for printing "*The Sandy Foundation Shaken.*" This timorous law was not, in fact, effective nor usually obeyed, though recently enacted as part of the war against Nonconformity. It would however, enable any plotter of harm, like Arlington, to have the author and printer before a magistrate, who might send them to trial for misdemeanour, probably with bail. But Arlington did not wait for these legal formalities, and this relatively mild course. Penn had called upon him and confessed the technical fault, asking that his printer, already incarcerated, might be set at liberty and he the author alone be blamed. He promptly had William Penn arrested and sent off to the Tower, without charge, or trial, or any kind of authority. This was in December, 1668. But he found a new difficulty at the gate of the Tower. Sir John Robinson, the Lieutenant, refused to take him in without a proper legal warrant signed by the King in Council. If he had done so he would have put himself into danger, for Admiral Penn and his friend the Duke of York, might yet prove stronger than a fool like Lord Arlington in the fortune's wheel of politics. Robinson was there because he was unscrupulous, but this young man had friends who gave a cautious man pause, particularly when one was getting on in life, and had made many enemies. Two of his predecessors had come to a bad end. Sir John asked Arlington to legalise the proposed confinement by a royal warrant.

This put Arlington into a difficulty. Printing an unlicensed book was not a matter for the Tower or a

Royal warrant signed by the King in Council. These were used for treasonable conduct. So a charge of treason must be concocted. Arlington interviewed Penn at the Tower, and said that he had dropped a paper full of treason against the King on the floor of Arlington's house, and tried to frighten him into confessing it—a poor and desperate trick which naturally did not succeed, however moving were the Secretary of State's theatrical gifts. So he dissembled, professed joy at Penn's denial, and said he would go at once to the King on his behalf. He went to Charles at Whitehall, where as a comic entertainer he was always welcome, Doubtless he put the case comically, acted the Quaker, and then asked Charles to help him out of the difficulty he had hastily got into. The two consulted, and then Charles remembered that Penn's pamphlet had been called blasphemous. This gave an opening to the Defender of the Faith, the Head of the Church in England. A charge of blasphemy was substituted for that of unlicensed printing. Moreover, sending for the Council's minute book, Charles held a mock meeting, himself and Arlington present, and wrote the necessary minute, committing William Penn to the Tower for blasphemy. Charles was usually a friend of the Penns, but he was given to understand that a very short dose of the Tower would bring the youth to reason, and then he could easily be pardoned. But Robinson did not yet feel safe. He must have more signatures. He got them. A hasty council was convened, and seven members signed it.

A "close" imprisonment in the Tower was terribly severe. The prisoner was locked up in his cell with a keeper. He had little fuel in a memorably cold winter. He could, without special licence, see no friend—no doctor, clergyman or lawyer. He could write no letters and receive no presents. He ate prison fare. He seems to have been allowed to write freely.

Arlington, however, still dreaded the future vengeance

of the Admiral, a man much more necessary to the safety of England than himself, or even than his patron Prince Rupert. He gave it out that all was done on the initiative of the Bishop of London, whose licence had been ignored. The standard Quaker biographies still state this ; and Penn in the Tower believed it. It was reported to him that the Bishop had said he should either recant or die a prisoner. His reply was :

" All is well. I wish they had told me so before, since the expecting of a release put a stop to some business ; thou mayest tell my father, who, I know, will ask thee, these words : ' My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot ; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man. I have no need to fear. God will make amends for all. They are mistaken in me. I value not their threats and resolutions, for they shall know I can weary out their malice and peevishness, and in me shall they all behold a resolution above fear, conscience above cruelty, and a baffle put to all their designs by the spirit of patience, the companion of all the tribulated flock of the blessed Jesus, who is the author and finisher of the faith that overcomes the world, yea, death and hell too. Neither great nor good things are ever attained without loss and hardships. He that would reap and not labour must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments, but an hair of my head shall not fall without the Providence of my Father that is over all."*

This memorable saying, so characteristic of the author, has done some injustice to the Bishop of London. For to him Charles and Arlington turned to pull their chesnuts out of the fire. The King found that Arlington's anticipation of the boy's early surrender was mistaken. He sent various divines to him to try to persuade him of the error of his views. They reported him reasonable but unyielding. Penn's father had yielded to a Tower imprisonment, in Oliver's time, very quickly. Meantime, the Admiral was ill, mostly in bed, unable to attend at the

* " Life," by Besse.

Navy Board, and surrounded by enemies. His star was setting. After his son had been in prison over three months, he managed to get to Whitehall and presented to the King a petition for his release. The Council refused. The King ordered the Bishop of London to proceed against him in the Consistory Court for "blasphemous heresies." But the Bishop was too prudent to do anything of the sort. He knew there was no blasphemy in the "*Sandy Foundation Shaken.*" He wanted no disturbance or scandal in his diocesan court. He did not want to meet in argument so able an advocate; so he took no steps, and, ignoring the royal instruction, let Arlington find some other way out. The Bishop showed good judgment and probably good will.*

Meantime the Admiral lost his seat at the Naval Board and his official residence, and retired to Wanstead. He was very ill, and begged the Duke of York to help his imprisoned son. Penn himself also wrote a letter to Arlington on the 1st of July, in which a careful discussion on religious toleration with classical examples was, I fear, an instance of pearls being cast in a wrong direction. The intervention of the Duke of York caused Charles to send his chaplain, none other than the good and wise Stillingfleet, to see if he could come to such terms with William Penn as to enable him to be released. A great theologian, and a large and charitable soul, was at last enlisted to cure the bungling of Vincent, Arlington and the Defender of the Faith. Penn and he were kindred spirits, they were both young, they respected one another and had fruitful discussions. Under Stillingfleet's advice and influence Penn wrote and published his "*Innocency with her Open Face.*" Yield he would not, but explain

* This account of the responsibility of Arlington is taken from Hepworth Dixon's later volume, "The History of William Penn," 1872. It is based on facts discovered since his former book, and Janney's. He gives no authorities in this later more popular book, but it appears to be based on a paper read by John Bruce in 1853, before the Society of Antiquaries, and published in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXV., pp. 72-90. This reference is from H. M. Jenkins, "Family of William Penn," p. 230.

what he had or had not said, he could. Stillingfleet, whom he frequently quotes, was a liberal theologian, and liberalism is a great reconciler. The King's theological sensitiveness was satisfied, and Penn was released, after between eight and nine months' close confinement.

The author asserts in this book his belief in the Divinity of Christ, in a very full sense. His opponents had said "in press, pulpit and talk," that a denial of this followed from his denial of the Trinity, a much more elaborate conception. The unity of Christ and God, not their separateness, was Penn's contention. Secondly, though not believing in the need for plenary satisfaction, "I believe in no other name by which remission, atonement and salvation can be obtained, but Jesus Christ the Saviour." He says his position is that of Stillingfleet's "Discourse about Christ's Suffering." He also believes in the Holy Spirit, "as the same Almighty and Eternal God." He concludes by saying that if the persecution of Friends is to continue, "our case can never change nor happiness abate, for no human edict can possibly deprive us of His glorious presence, who is able to make the dismalest prisons so many receptacles of pleasure." William Penn thus pleaded that Friends were orthodox Christians, as Christian doctrine was then understood in its broad features, whilst declining to follow the Calvinist system.

It cannot, however, be said that there is any exact or self-consistent Christology in the two treatises taken together. Scripture texts were freely quoted and left to others or to intuition to expound as spiritual insight served.*

His enemies would have hesitated before giving eight months' leisure to the ardent spirit of Penn, if they had foreseen the use that would be made of it. In the Tower he wrote his greatest work, "*No Cross no Crown*." In the Preface to the second edition of 1682, we read :—

* See below, Chapter VIII. p.

" Christ's Cross is Christ's way to Christ's crown. This is the subject of the following discourse, first writ during my confinement in the Tower of London in 1668, now reprinted with great enlargements of matter and testimonies; that thou, reader, mayst be won to Christ and if won already, brought nearer to him. 'Tis a path God in His everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two-and-twenty years of age. Then he took me by the hand and led me out of the pleasures, vanities and hopes of the world. I have tasted of Christ's judgments and of His mercies, and of the world's frowns and reproaches; I rejoice in my experience and dedicate it to thy service in Christ. 'Tis a debt I have long owed, and has been long expected: I have now paid it and delivered my soul."

The book is an appeal for practical Christianity, and a statement of its demands, covering both worship and conduct, in fact the whole of life, public and private. Such a book was sure to come out as a typical efflorescence of Quakerism. For its appeal was always from tradition to experience, from authority to life. Practice is Quakerism's strongest side. If William Penn had never written anything else his message to the world would have been delivered in this volume. It is one of the notable voices of Christianity, an unflinching presentment of what Christian experience is and demands of those faithful to it. It contains all the Quaker testimonies, against ritual, professional preaching, ornamental worship, prayer from books; and a defence of meetings based on silence and depending upon individual initiative in ministry. It is unrestrained and voluminous in expression, and hortatory in manner. But it contains many purple passages of pungent quality, and the style is aflame with conviction. It became for two centuries the standard book of Friends' practice, as Barclay's *Apology* was of their theory, and Fox's *Journal* of their history and origin. It has been the stay and the standard of thousands of strong men and women. Perhaps it cannot be, even ought not to be, to us what it was to our fathers. Each age must write its own "*No Cross, no Crown.*" The

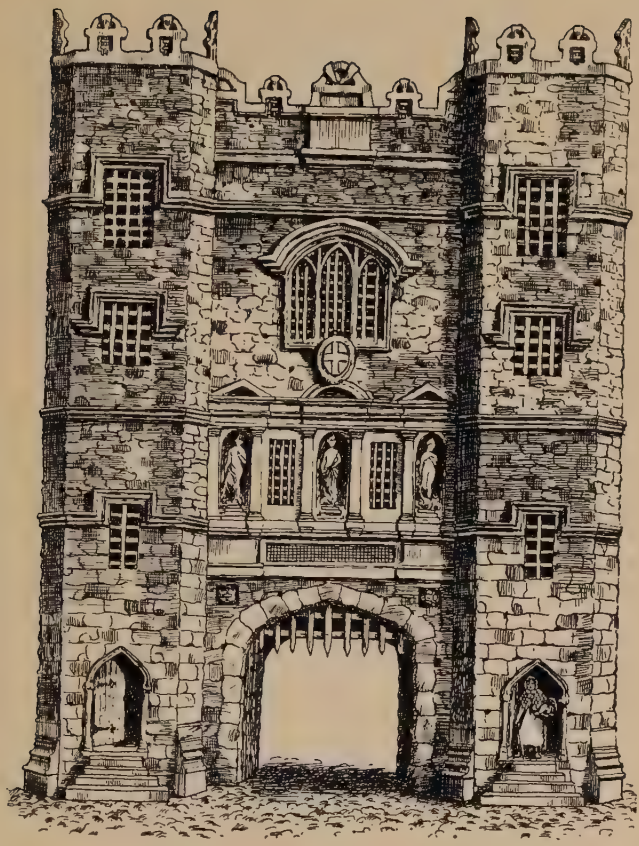
religious conflicts of a past age have burnt into it and for us discoloured it. We must have a less controversial help to Christian conduct; but it is hardly likely that we shall produce one so penetrating. It is a book now rarely read. By 1857 it had gone through twenty-four editions, but since that time its circulation has been very slight, and due to the desire of some persons that other persons should read it. In all cases it is the second edition of 1682 that has been reprinted. It is a more complete and mature work than the hasty production under prison conditions of the young man of four-and-twenty in 1668. Some of the minor Quaker peculiarities took a more prominent place in the first edition than they did in the complete work.

As an example of the invective which alternates with loving appeal, we may quote a passage which incidentally treats the Restoration Drama from an unusual angle of vision (Chap. XVII. § 1).

"Next, those customs and fashions, which make up the common attire and conversation of the times, do eminently obstruct the inward retirement of people's minds, by which they may come to behold the glories of immortality; who instead of fearing their Creator in the days of their youth, and seeking the kingdom of God in the first place (Eccl. xii. 1; Luke xii. 31), expecting the addition of such other things as may be necessary and convenient, according to the injunctions of God and the Lord Jesus Christ; as soon as they can do anything, they look after pride, vanity and that conversation which is most delightful to the flesh (Jer. xviii. 18-20), which becomes their most delightful entertainment: all which do but evidently beget lustful conceptions, and inflame to inordinate thoughts, wanton discourses, lascivious treats, if not at least to wicked actions. To such it is tedious and offensive to speak of heaven or another life. Bid them reflect upon their actions, not grieve the Holy Spirit, consider of an eternal doom, prepare for judgment; and the best return that is usual is reproachful jests (Eph. v. 3, 4), profane repartees, if not direct blows. Their thoughts are otherwise employed; their mornings are too short for them to wash, to

smooth, to paint, to patch, to braid, to curl, to gum, to powder, and otherwise to attire and adorn themselves (Psalm xii. 2; Isaiah v.; lix. 3, 4.); whilst their afternoons are as commonly bespoke for visits and for plays; where their usual entertainment is some stories fetched from the more approved romances; some strange adventures, some passionate amours, unkind refusals, grand impediments, importunate addresses, miserable disappointments, wonderful surprises, unexpected encounters, castles surprised, imprisoned lovers rescued, and meetings of supposed dead ones; bloody duels, languishing voices echoing from solitary groves, overheard mournful complaints, deep-fetched sighs sent from wild deserts, intrigues managed with unheard of subtlety; and whilst all things seem at the greatest distance, then are dead people alive, enemies friends, despair turned to enjoyment, and all their impossibilities reconciled; things that never were, nor are, nor ever shall or can be, they all come to pass. And as if man and woman were too slow to answer the loose suggestions of corrupt nature, or were too intent on more divine speculations and heavenly affairs, they have all that is possible for the most extravagant wits to invent; not only express lies, but utter impossibilities to very nature, on purpose to excite their minds to those idle passions, and intoxicate their giddy fancies with swelling nothings but airy fictions; which not only consume their time, effeminate their natures, debase their reason, and set them on work to reduce these things to practice, and make each adventure theirs by imitation; but if disappointed,—as who can otherwise expect from such mere phantasms?—the present remedy is latitude in the greatest vice. And yet these are some of their most innocent recreations, which are the very gins of Satan, to ensnare people; contrived most agreeable to their weakness, and in a more insensible manner mastering their affections by entertainments most taking to their senses. On such occasions it is their hearts breed vanity, and their eyes turn interpreters to their thoughts and their looks whisper the secret inflammations of their intemperate minds (Prov. vii. 10-21); wandering so long abroad, till their lascivious actings bring night home, and load their minds and reputations with lust and infamy."*

* A fuller account of the three books named in this chapter may be found in the author's work, "The Faith of a Quaker," Book II., Chap. III. (Camb. Univ. Press), a book whose publication is postponed till after the war.



GATEWAY OF NEWGATE, 1666.

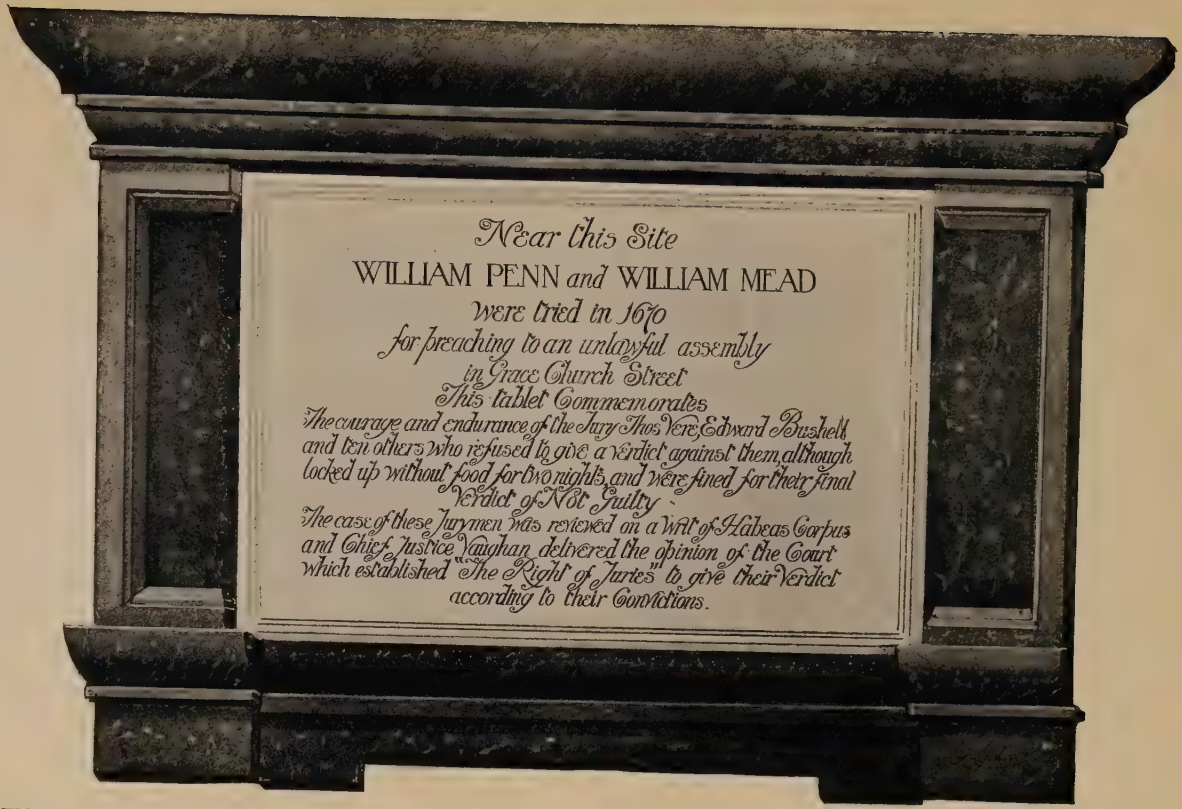
In the summer of 1669 William Penn went again to Ireland on the business of his father's estates and stayed about nine months. He visited many meetings and the prisons where Friends were. On their behalf he presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant, and repeatedly applied to him, to the Chancellor, and to Lord Arran, for the release of Friends; and he had the happiness of seeing his efforts successful before he returned to England. An order in Council liberated Friends. A "National Meeting" of Friends in Ireland was held in Dublin, at William Penn's lodgings, in November of 1669. He seems to have been gladly accepted as a leader from the first. Oddly enough, on his voyage to Ireland, a Friend was a passenger who had been also a fellow passenger with him on his last voyage from Ireland when just "convinced," and had then helped and encouraged him. This good man now felt himself left far behind spiritually by one who had set out after him, and was much humbled, "was led to a solid reflection upon his own negligence and unfaithfulness and expressed with many tears a renewed visitation and deep concern upon his spirit." Probably this excellent Friend need not have been distressed. It is a common experience.

CHAPTER V

The Rights of Juries

THE few years of William Penn's Quakerism had been times of adventure and of strain, but the year 1670 brought with it still larger and keener encounters in the Holy War. The trial of Penn and Mead in that year was an event of great moment in the constitutional history of England. Already from his prison in the Tower he had written a long manifesto to Lord Arlington the Secretary of State, a member of the famous Cabal government, pointing out how illegal his confinement was, under the constitution. He was not an unlikely man to find himself called on to defend the rights of citizenship.

In 1670 the second Conventicle Act was passed, confirming and making effectual the provisions of the earlier Act of 1664. Under these Acts the Church of England committed the greatest folly in her history, in attempting to destroy Nonconformity by forbidding all its meetings by law. It deprived the accused of the benefit of trial by jury. Any justice of the peace, whether sitting in sessions or not, could convict at his pleasure. It contained also the extraordinary clause that in case of doubt arising about its interpretation "the Act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppression of conventicles," *i.e.*, it was to be construed against the prisoner, contrary to a maxim of English legal practice. Most of the religious bodies attacked bowed outwardly to the storm. That is, they abandoned their chapels and met secretly elsewhere when they could. No such recog-


Near this Site
WILLIAM PENN and WILLIAM MEAD
were tried in 1670
for preaching to an unlawful assembly
in Grace Church Street
This tablet Commemorates
The courage and endurance of the Jury Thos Vere, Edward Bushell
and ten others who refused to give a verdict against them although
locked up without food for two nights, and were fined for their final
Verdict of Not Guilty
The case of these Jurymen was reviewed on a Writ of Habeas Corpus
and Chief Justice Vaughan delivered the opinion of the Court
which established "The Right of Juries" to give their Verdict
according to their Convictions.

THE WILLIAM PENN MEMORIAL TABLET IN THE SESSIONS HOUSE (ON SITE OF OLD BAILEY), LONDON.

nition of the power of evil commended itself to the daring and inflexible spirit of Friends. They met as usual; and many a time the soldiers had to break up a meeting and hale the congregation, or, it might be, a speaker and some others, to jail. The third offence meant a fine of £100, or transportation to the convict station on Barbadoes, and every succeeding offence a fine of £100.

The Meeting House in Gracechurch Street in the City of London was found guarded by soldiers, on Sunday, August 14th, 1670. Friends, therefore, naturally met for worship in the street outside. William Penn was preaching when the police appeared, with warrants ready written by the Lord Mayor against him and William Mead, who was of the company. Penn gives an account of it in a letter to his father, written the next day from a place of semi-imprisonment.

"Yesterday I was taken by a band of soldiers, with one Capt. Mead, a linen draper, and in the evening carried before the Mayor. He proceeded against me according to the ancient law; he told me I should have my hat pulled off, for all I was Admiral Penn's son. I told him that I desired to be in common with others, and sought no refuge from the common usage. He answered, it had been no matter if thou hadst been a commander twenty years ago. . . . He bade his clerk write me for Bridewell, and there would he see me whipt himself, for all I was Penn's son, that starved the seamen. Indeed these words grieved me as well as that it manifested his great weakness and malice to the whole Company, that were about one hundred people. I told him I could very well hear his severe expressions to me concerning myself, but was sorry to hear him speak those abuses of my father, that was not present, at which the assembly seemed to murmur."

Starling the Lord Mayor was a renegade Cromwellian, once a great persecutor of Royalists. The Friends were indicted at the Old Bailey on September 1. The charge was, in summarised form, that the defendants, with other persons to the number of three hundred, did with force and

arms unlawfully and tumultuously assemble and congregate themselves together to the disturbance of the peace, —that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, before made, and by abetment of the said William Mead, did take upon himself to preach and speak, by reason whereof a great concourse and tumult of people in the street did a long time remain and continue in contempt of the Lord the King and of his law ; to the great disturbance of his peace, to the great terror of many of his lieges, and to the ill example of all others."

One can realise that the authorities could hardly afford to allow themselves to be baffled by this open-air demonstration of the Quakers whom they had turned out of doors. Thus does one ill course lead to another ; and the path of compulsion descends rapidly to an intolerable place.

The trial occupied September 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 5th. The Justices were Sir Samuel Starling, the Lord Mayor, Sir John Howel, the Recorder, five Aldermen and three Sheriffs.

At the beginning the Recorder refused to the prisoners a copy of the lengthy indictment : on which Penn demanded that no undue advantage should be taken of this, and that he should have a fair hearing in defence. They then pleaded Not Guilty.

Then the court adjourned, and the prisoners were brought up in the afternoon but made to stand aside while felons and murderers were tried ; thus both wearying and insulting them. After five hours' attendance the court broke up without reaching their case. Two days later, on Saturday the third, they were again brought up, and the case began in earnest. The police had, with kindly intention, removed the prisoners' hats, which they had a conscientious objection to doing themselves, but the Bench were determined not to be denied their cunning device on this point, and ordered their hats to be put on again, and they brought up to the bar, where they were fined

forty marks apiece for contempt of court for having them on. Penn remarked that as the Bench was responsible for their hats being on, the Bench should be fined. The tone of the prisoners' minds comes out in William Mead's protest :

" I desire the Jury and all people to take notice of this injustice of the Recorder, who spake not to me to pull off my hat, and yet hath he put a fine upon my head. O fear the Lord and dread His power, and yield to the guidance of His Holy Spirit, for He is not far from every one of you."

So far the Bench had not gained much moral weight, but had ensured that, whatever the verdict, the accused should go back to prison for not paying this fine.

The authorities seem to have known and feared Edward Bushel, one of the jurors, and pretended that he had not kissed the book ; and so brought him up again to swear. He was thought to have a conscience against swearing twice. But the trick failed.

The police evidence was to the effect that they could not get near to William Penn because of the crowd, nor hear him because of the noise ; but that William Mead had arranged that if William Penn was allowed peaceably to finish, he would give himself up at the close.

Then followed a long duel between the Recorder and William Penn. The accused demanded by what law they were being tried, and the Recorder refused information beyond saying that it was the Common Law, and abusing Penn as a saucy and impertinent fellow. Penn quoted Coke's *Institutes* and pleaded the privileges of Magna Charta. He managed to get out some forcible pleas in defence of the liberty of the subject, and after many undignified attempts to silence him, they haled him off to the " Bale Dock " at the far back of the court.

William Mead then stated in his defence that though once a Captain in the army he had now no freedom to use violence of any kind, so could not be guilty of behaving

vi et armis. He demanded an order of the law, and quoted Coke on the nature of a Riot. Here the Recorder interrupted him and thanked him for teaching him the law, scornfully pulling off his hat. Mead replied " Thou mayst put on thy hat, I have never a fee for thee now." On finding themselves no more a match for him than for Penn, and receiving from the prisoner a quantity of troublesome and impressive Latin, they sent him away also, to join his friend in the Bale Dock. The Recorder then charged the Jury in the prisoners' absence ; but he was interrupted by William Penn shouting, though unseen, from the distant Bale Dock, appealing against the charge being given in their absence, and quoting Coke again, on the right of prisoners to be heard. The only thing the Recorder could do was to order the prisoners into " the Hole," a stinking place in Newgate, close by, where they were safely out of hearing at any rate. Penn describes this foul place as not fit for pigs. The Jury debated an hour and a half. Then eight walked in, and agreed to convict. The four dissentients were ordered down also, among them Edward Bushel, the hero of this story. The Recorder threatened him. " I shall set a mark upon you, sir." Other Aldermen and the Lord Mayor abused him, and sent the Jury back. After a considerable time they returned, unanimous. " William Penn is guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street."* This would never do. But not another word would the jury consent to say. They were sent back for half an hour, but returned with a similar verdict in writing. The court fell upon Bushel and Thomas Vere, the foreman, and threatened to lock the jury up without meat, drink, fire or tobacco, till they revised their verdict. Penn vigorously interfered in defence of his jury.

" The agreement of Twelve men is a verdict in law, and such a one being given by the jury, I require the Clerk of the Court to record it, as he will answer it at his peril

* The contemporary spelling is " Gracious Street."

and if the jury bring in another verdict contrary to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law. (And looking upon the Jury, said), " You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right."

" Nor will we ever do it," responded the jurymen.

A juryman pleaded illness, but the Court refused to release him. " Starve and hold your principles." They were kept all night without food or drink, or any other necessity. At seven the next day, Sunday, the court met again, but their verdict was unchanged.

The court fell upon Bushel. " That conscience of yours would cut my throat," remarked the Lord Mayor. " No, my lord, it never shall," replied the juror. " But I will cut yours as soon as I can," replied the Lord Mayor. The Recorder, not to be outdone in throwing away his dignity added, " He has inspired the jury ; he has the spirit of divination : methinks I feel him. I will have a positive verdict, or you shall starve for it." Penn now intervened on behalf of Mead, who ought to be liberated on the verdict : and as the charge was for conspiracy, he should be freed too, as one man cannot conspire alone. But the Recorder declared that Not Guilty was no verdict. He threatened to pursue Bushel with future vengeance, and the Lord Mayor said he would slit his nose. Penn intervened with a defence of the rights of Juries, and the Lord Mayor ordered him to be fettered and fastened to the ground. The Recorder longed audibly for the Inquisition in England, and promised a new act of complete outlawry for Nonconformists in the next session of Parliament. He then ordered the Clerk to draw up another verdict for the Jury to adopt ; but he said he did not know how. The Recorder threatened to starve the jury, and cart them round the city. They were sent upstairs again with a threat of force, and kept again without food, drink, or sanitary accommodation all night. At seven in the morning of Monday, the court met again ; and received a direct verdict of " Not guilty " from the

indomitable jury, now pale and weak. Each juryman was then compelled to give the verdict separately and did so. Each said "Not guilty"; the people in the court were evidently delighted. Penn says they made a sort of hymn. Clearly bullying would not overcome this jury. The court then dared to fine them forty marks each, and send them to prison till it was paid. Penn and Mead accompanied them to Newgate for not paying their fines for contempt of Court about the hats: not however without a final appeal from William Penn to the fundamental liberties of Englishmen from the Inquisition so dear to the Recorder's heart.

Penn's defence, as it would have been given, if he had been allowed to give it, was published shortly afterwards, with a long documented criticism of the action of the court, based on the ancient charters.

For two days and two nights this brave jury had endured the cruelty of these miserable Restoration magistrates. Some were in high fever, some wandered in their minds, from overstrain, lack of sleep and raging thirst. Their room had become foul. They had supported one another in the dark hours of misery, weakness strengthening weakness, with the strength of an overcoming spirit. They did much to save trial by jury for the Englishmen that have followed them. Their case became the classic one on the independence of juries.

Penn wrote to his father that the jury were determined to lie in prison till they could be legally released without paying their fine, and that, by advice of counsel, they demanded their liberty every six hours. They were released after a few days by the Court of Common Pleas, their commitment being pronounced illegal. Thus the final victory was won. Twelve judges, after an elaborate trial and notable speeches of counsel, decided unanimously that a jury alone is the judge of the facts, and that "the court may try to open the eyes of the jurors, but not to lead them by the nose." To Bushel and his companions

THE
Peoples {Ancient and Juſt} Liberties
ASSERTED,
IN THE
TRYAL
OF
William Penn, and *William Mead*,

At the Seſſions held at the *Old-Baily* in *London*, the firſt, third, fourth and fifth of *Sept.* 70. againſt the moſt Arbitrary procedure of that Court.

Iſa. 10. 1, 2. *Wo unto them that Decree Unrighteous Decrees, and write grievouſneſs, which they have preſcribed; to turn away the Needy from Judgment, and to take away the right from the Poor, &c.*

Pſal. 94. 20. *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with thee, which frameth miſchief by a Law.*

Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.

Old-Baily, 1ſt. 3d. 4th, 5th of *Sept.* 1670.

Printed in the Year, 1670.

Facsimile of original title-page of Penn and Mead trial.

Englishmen owe one of the strongholds of their freedom from bureaucratic tyranny.

It is noticeable that Penn and Mead were not tried under the Conventicle Act. The prosecution evidently thought they could rely on the Common Law against riot. The indictment was, however, a preposterous document. It had the date wrong, to begin with; it accused the notoriously peaceable Quakers of proceeding by force and by arms—it stated that there was a conspiracy or arrangement under which William Penn was speaking, a statement which any one who knew Friends knew to be the exact contrary of their practice, under which the individual speaks wholly on his own initiative.

CHAPTER VI

Bereavement and Courtship

Not the least of the troubles of imprisonment was the anxiety of William Penn to be with his father, who was very ill at Wanstead. We have seen what efforts the Admiral had made for his son's release from the Tower all through the long and trying spring of 1669. William's courage and gentle power had quite conquered his father's hostility. He became justly proud of the lad, however misguided; and indeed the world he had served was turning its back upon him. A full reconciliation took place when Penn was released from the Tower; and it was from signs that his father's health was seriously failing that he had come home from Ireland. Every day from Newgate he had written affectionate letters to him; and when finally detained by the non-payment of the hat fine, he longed to be home, but begged his father not to pay the fine. This was however done, and Penn released, after about a week's confinement. It was reported by the doctors that the Admiral had not many days to live, and he died eleven days after the trial, on September 16th, 1670, aged only forty-nine years.

His last sayings were inserted by his son in the second edition of "*No Cross, no Crown,*" among the edifying utterances of the great and wise of all ages, as they summed up their judgment on life. The passage runs as follows:

"My own father, after thirty years' employment, with good success, in divers places of eminent trust and honour in his own country, upon a serious reflection, not long before his death,

spoke to me in this manner: 'Son William, I am weary of the world: I would not live over my days again if I could command them with a wish: for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God, that has followed me to this day. Oh, have a care of sin: that is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you. First, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience: I charge you do nothing against your conscience, so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in the day of trouble. Secondly, whatever you desire to do, lay it justly and time it seasonably; for that gives security and dispatch. Lastly, be not troubled at disappointments; for if they may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence, for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time; these rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world.' At another time he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age; often crying out, with an earnestness of spirit, 'Woe to thee, O England! God will judge thee, O England! Plagues are at thy door, O England!' He much bewailed that divers men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were grown so dissolute and profane; often saying, 'God has forsaken us; we are infatuated; we will shut our eyes; we will not see our true interests and happiness; we shall be destroyed! Apprehending the consequences of the growing looseness of the age to be our ruin, and that the methods most fit to serve the kingdom with true credit, at home and abroad, were too much neglected, the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his distemper, which drew him daily nearer to his end: and as he believed it, so less concerned or disordered, I never saw him at any time; of which I took good notice: wearied to live as well as near to die he took his leave of us, and of me, with this expression, and a most composed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother; live all in love: shun all manner of evil: and I pray God to bless you all; and He will bless you."

There is a monument to his memory in the church of S. Mary Redclyffe, Bristol, erected by his widow.

One of the consequences of the trial of Penn and Mead was a controversy, of the violent type then expected, between William Penn and a certain S. S. (Was it Sir Samuel Starling the Lord Mayor?). Penn published a full account of the trial with extensive comment, which went through two editions the first year. S. S. wrote an answer. Penn wrote in reply, "*Truth rescued from Imposture, or a brief reply to a mere rhapsody of lies, folly and slander; but a pretended answer to 'The Trial of William Penn and William Mead,' writ and subscribed S. S.—by a professed enemy to oppression W. P.*"

Part III. of this book is a "Defence of my deceased father's reputation from the false and unworthy reflections of this scandalous libeller." The opponent S. S. had made much of Admiral's Penn's record as a servant both of the Protectorate and the Monarchy. His son replies that he was not a political partisan, but a defender of his country under all rulers against foreign enemies. S. S. ascribes his rapid promotion to his zeal in producing "The Instrument of Government," which gave Oliver the Protectorship. William Penn shows that dates are all against this; and that under Oliver only ability caused promotion. Next the Admiral is blamed wrongfully for the defeat at Hispaniola, which was a land battle under Venables; in fact the sailors rescued the soldiers from destruction on that occasion. Next come charges of plunder and peculation easily rebutted, and a testimony to the Admiral's honesty in his country's service, with definite instances given. After saying that S. S. (whose identity he did not appear to know) "showed a greater want of humanity than I was willing to think the debauchery of our age had reduced any man to," he quaintly concludes, "I wish him repentance of these impieties and sincerely declare my hearty forgiveness of all his aggravating injuries." Thus did grace in the end

mix itself with calling a spade a very decided spade. To anticipate a little, one may add that this tract also was written from prison.

Pepys's Diary is sprinkled with allusions to Admiral Penn. These allusions are all hostile. Penn is called a rogue in various forms of speech, throughout this self-revealing private record. But nevertheless there was the greatest outward friendship, which Pepys tells his Diary it was his interest to keep up for social reasons. Altogether it is an unpleasing picture of an acquaintanceship in that bad Restoration society; and we cannot take Pepys's opinion of Sir William Penn as reliable. Penn had interfered with Pepys's illegal professional pickings.

He would seem to have been a very able, rather worldly man who took the colour of his political surroundings, but in his later years of misfortune and weakness had the grace to see in the end the beauty of holiness when it unexpectedly intruded into his family.

Subject to Lady Penn's life interest he left the bulk of his property to his son William, whom he made sole executor. Margaret had had her portion, Richard died three years after, and the portion left to him then fell in also to William.

His lands in Ireland and England brought in £1,500 a year,*; now worth in real value several times as much. He had a claim on the Crown for loans and arrears of salary of £15,000. He had also sundry other claims in Jamaica and in Spain, of doubtful value, and never realised.

Knowing how vulnerable to attack was property in the hands of an uncompromising young Quaker, the father wrote from his deathbed to the King and his brother James, asking them to continue to his son the kindness they had shown to him. The Duke of York in

* Clarkson. H. M. Jenkins apparently thinks this too much (p. 47, of Family of William Penn.)

reply accepted the duty of guardian and protector in William Penn's estate and business affairs.

The Quaker propaganda must have required, and we know that it received, a good deal of money. To it chiefly this access of income went till a greater use appeared.

The record of this eventful year 1670 is yet far from finished. The new faith gave its prophets no rest. William Penn had a public controversy at West Wycomb in Bucks. An attack on Friends and their teaching by a Baptist minister provoked a challenge to a public debate from Penn. The subject in dispute was the Universality of the Divine Light. Jeremy Ives, the minister's "brother," appeared, and delivered a prepared speech. Then—contrary to all good form—he departed with all who would follow, without hearing the reply. But most of the people very naturally stayed behind, and appeared satisfied and friendly. A return by Ives, to reproach the people for staying, concluded the affair.* One cannot imagine crowds attending a discussion on such a subject now.

In November Penn was at Oxford, and found a cruel persecution going on there against Friends; ragging by undergraduates being connived at by the authorities. He wrote a very hot letter to the Vice Chancellor about it, declaring the divine vengeance. "Poor mushroom, wilt thou war against the Lord, and lift up thyself in battle against the Almighty." No notice was taken by the mushroom. The upbraidings in the letter, however, were not too severe. The Vice Chancellor carried on a miserable spy system. He employed men to go among the Nonconformists, pretending unity with them, and then, having heard them talk freely, to prosecute them for their unsuspecting words. Nothing could be more contrary to all decent University instincts. But at this time the Universities were denominational colleges, and these Quakers and Baptists,

* See "Life of Thomas Ellwood."

advocating a lay ministry based not on learning but on inspiration, endangered the whole craft with which the place was identified. Both the Universities were fierce against Friends.

During that winter William Penn lived quietly for a time at Penn in Buckinghamshire, and became a frequent visitor at the home of Isaac Penington. From this visit much followed later, of a happier kind than the dread ceaseless struggle for truth, and for the liberty of the human soul, which consumed at present his whole energies and fills the story of his life. At present we must follow the holy war. He wrote in the country at this time "*A Seasonable Caveat against Popery.*" That it was seasonable we know from history. Charles II., that very year, had concluded with His Catholic Majesty Louis XIV. of France, the secret Treaty of Dover, subordinating English foreign policy to Louis's designs upon his Protestant neighbours, and containing a clause that Charles would at an appropriate time confess his Romanism, and be supported, by a French army if necessary, against an English revolt. The *Caveat* was as thoroughgoing an attack as the author's other works; but it had the peculiarity of demanding toleration for the persons who held these pernicious beliefs. Catholicism was the enemy, not Catholics. This was the Quaker position, and a generation later it became the national practice, with some exceptions in the way of religious disabilities and privileges.

So the end of this crowded year 1670, with its imprisonments, controversies, bereavement, and literary labours, came at last with a few weeks of peace, in which arose the dawning of the greatest event of all in a young man's life.

From the crowd and noise of London we now pass to the old world villages which nestle among the wooded uplands looking down on the Thames valley near Windsor. Both for marriage and for burial our far-roaming spiritual adventurer and statesman drew to this secluded spot in

quiet English woodlands, and there our memories of him centre.

Our story will end in the graveyard at the ancient meeting-house at Jordans. But it was for completeness of life that the battered young warrior came down to Buckinghamshire. He stayed at his ancestral village of Penn, but his interests were mainly with the household of Isaac Penington. The Penington's home had been at the Grange, a modest mansion at Chalfont St. Peter, still standing. But in 1665 they had been turned out by the Duke of Grafton, at a time when Isaac Penington was in gaol, and the family had been scattered, and lived for some years in an unsettled condition. At the time of this visit, at the end of 1670, Isaac Penington was in gaol at Reading. He had gone thither to visit Friends in prison, and Sir William Armoner had thought it humorous to keep him there for a year and three quarters, till the King's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 brought his series of six imprisonments to an end.

The family consisted of Isaac Penington, his wife Mary, and three little children, and his beautiful step-daughter, Gulielma Maria Springett, aged twenty-six.

Isaac Penington, now a man of fifty-four, was, with Fox, Barclay and Penn, one of the four outstanding leaders of the Quaker reformation. He was not one of the earliest band of "First Publishers" of 1652. It was not till 1658, at the great meetings at John Crook's in Bedfordshire, that George Fox had pointed to him the way to spiritual freedom and power. Like Fox, Barclay and Penn, from his earliest childhood he had been religious. Like the other Quaker reformers he too had had a long and "sorely distressed" period of spiritual unsettlement, "I could not be satisfied with the things of this perishing world, which naturally pass away, but I desired true sense of, and unity with, that which abideth for ever." "But I was exceedingly entangled about election and reprobation." He joined one of the many

Thy truly Lo: & affectionate
Friend Guli Deun

(See note page 329.)

sects of the time, each anxiously trying to follow more closely the letter of the Scripture than the others, and so reach ultimate truth. But his religious genius and his critical faculty remained unsatisfied, and, throwing up the outward observances of religion, he mingled with the world for a while, though not of it. His prospects there, like Penn's, were excellent. His father was Alderman Penington, one of the "Parliament Grandees," High Sheriff of London, member for the City in the Long Parliament, Lord Mayor, Governor of the Tower, Member of the High Court of Justice which tried the King. He was knighted by the Speaker and became a member of the Council of State which controlled the Commonwealth. He represented finance in the Roundhead party, and was their means of communication with the City and its loans. He was thus a convinced Puritan and Parliament man; and his son's adoption of Quakerism just when his party's fortunes were sinking, was a great grief to him; though for far other reasons than those which troubled the professional soldier Sir William Penn, who was essentially Royalist and "of the world."

Alderman Penington, whose name was also Isaac, died in the Tower soon after the Restoration, under cruel imprisonment, having, with other regicides, surrendered on Charles's proclamation of clemency.

When Isaac Penington the younger, was wandering in the arid fields of society, unable to find a religion, he met there a young widow, Lady Springett, who was in exactly similar case, and they were married in 1654. Guli was then a child of ten. She had been born a few weeks after the death of her father, Sir William Springett, of Darling, in Sussex, a Puritan commander who succumbed to an attack of fever at the siege of Arundel Castle in February, 1643-4, in the second year of the civil war. Lady Springett, as an orphan heiress, daughter of Sir John Proud, had been brought up with the young Springetts. She had been born in Holland. Like other

characters in this history Mary Proud was earnestly religious in an original way in childhood, discovered the futility of formal prayer, refused prayers out of books, tried to write some for herself, then grew out of that, and went great distances, thought unsuitable for a girl and undesirable for an heiress, to hear a Puritan preacher named Wilson, one of the sectaries then so numerous. From the domestic friction which ensued, William Springett, then a law student in London, rescued her by a youthful marriage. He was knighted by the King in early manhood. The young couple had given up the use of hymns, as insincere, and when their first child was born, the aristocratic father created a county sensation by refusing to have it baptised by the priest, but carried it in his arms five miles to Wilson, the deprived Puritan preacher, and held it himself to be baptised. Before he died, he abandoned both ordinances altogether. This was before George Fox had begun his mission. It shows that his teaching was in the air, and had been reached independently by kindred souls.* Gulielma Maria, born shortly after her father's death, was never baptised.

The family fortunes of the Peningtons had collapsed at the Restoration. But Mary Penington retained her father's inheritance, and during her husband's six imprisonments managed the business affairs of the family. These early Friends were never safe from sudden arrest, legal or illegal. Isaac Penington, unlike his best known colleagues, was not a travelling preacher. He was chiefly an author, and a selection from his voluminous works gives forcibly still the deep mystical teaching round which Quakerism gathered. He was its central, typical exponent in print, and his works are still not neglected.

* A fuller account of the early history of Mary Penington was written by her for her grandson, Springett Penn, and is printed in Joseph Gurney Bevan's Memoirs of Isaac Penington, and in Maria Webb's "Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century."

But our interest at the moment is where William Penn's was. Guli Springett had refused a crowd of suitors. Her beauty and charm, added to her considerable estate, had attracted many neighbouring young gentlemen, not Friends. But when William Penn appeared, handsomer, stronger than them all, incomparably wiser and braver than any young man she had seen, fresh from his sufferings and his victories for their common faith, the young people found one another at once. They met first early in 1668, when she was twenty-four and he six months younger.* We do not know whether an attachment began then; but Maria Webb (p. 172) notices with woman's instinct that it was just after that that Thomas Ellwood felt that he should find a wife elsewhere. We get a delightful account of Guli in the autobiography of Thomas Ellwood. He was a scholarly young gentleman, the son of a neighbouring landowner. He had become a Friend, with the usual home opposition. He was often at the Grange, and had for seven years, from 1662 till his marriage in 1669, undertaken the education of the children, and given lessons also to Guli. He felt however that she was not for him, but was reserved for someone more worthy, and with nobility and resignation he tells of the coming of him for whom she was reserved. Thomas Ellwood was afterwards the editor of George Fox's *Journal*. He also wrote a number of tedious poems, but his autobiography is an authentic and delightful source of our knowledge. It is in Morley's Universal Library, and in another excellent modern edition edited by S. Graveson.† Ellwood figures in every history of English literature, as the friend, pupil, and secretary of Milton. They were particularly intimate when the poet lived at Chalfont St. Giles during the year of the Plague. Ellwood tells us that he found the cottage for him, "a pretty box a mile from me." He had the wonderful fortune of reading "Paradise Lost"

* "Penns and Peningtons," p. 180. † Headley Brothers.

in manuscript; and it was he who asked Milton, "Thou hast told us much about Paradise lost, what hast thou to say about Paradise found?" a suggestion which bore more fruit than most. Milton, when handing him his second poem, on the temptation of Christ, said it was due to his words. Thus we owe "Paradise Regained," as well as the current edition of Fox's *Journal*, and Guli's peace of mind, to the modest tutor of the young Peningtons. He lived all his life near Jordans and Chalfont, and remained always a valued friend of William and Guli Penn.

Ellwood spent some years of childhood in London, to which his father had removed for safety during the first civil war. There they made the acquaintance of Lady Springett, newly widowed, and Ellwood says "I became an early and particular playfellow to her daughter Guli; being admitted as such to ride with her in her little coach drawn by her footman about Lincoln's Inn Fields." So the lifelong friendship began at the perambulator period. The next meeting was in 1659, when Ellwood was twenty and Guli fifteen. Ellwood and his father went to pay their friends, now Isaac and Mary Penington, a visit, on their coming to live at the Grange, Chalfont, about fifteen miles from their own home at Crowell. They were astounded to find they had turned Quaker, whatever that might be.

"So great change from a free, debonair and courtly sort of behaviour to so strict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappoint our expectation of such a pleasant visit as we used to have, and had now promised ourselves. For my part I sought and at length found means to cast myself into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid. But when I addressed myself to her, though she treated me with a courteous mien, yet (young as she was), the gravity of her look and behaviour struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself as to pursue any further converse

with her. Wherefore, asking pardon for my boldness in having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew, not without some disorder of mind."

"We stayed dinner, which was very handsome, and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of mirth and pleasant discourse."

The next visit, however, was the means of Ellwood's own conversion to Quakerism, and he became, from 1662, an inmate of the Peningtons' home as tutor. He writes:

"While thus I remained in this Family, various Suspicions arose in the Minds of some concerning me with respect to Mary Penington's fair Daughter Guli. For she having now arrived at a Marriageable Age, and being in all respects a very desirable Woman, (whether regard was had to her outward Person, which wanted nothing to render her completely Comely, or to the Endowments of her mind, which were every way Extraordinary and highly Obliging, or to her outward Fortune, which was fair, and which with some hath not the last nor the least place in Consideration), she was openly and secretly sought and solicited by many, and some of them almost of every rank and condition: good and Bad, Rich and Poor, Friend and Foe. To whom, in their respective turns, (till he at length came for whom she was reserved), she carried herself with so much evenness of Temper, such courteous Freedom, guarded with the strictest Modesty, that as it gave Encouragement or grounds of Hope to none, so neither did it minister any matter of Offence or just Cause of Complaint to any. But such as were thus engaged for themselves or desirous to make themselves Advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an Eye of Jealousie and Fear, that I would improve the Opportunities I had by frequent and familiar Conversation with her, to my own Advantage, in working myself into her good Opinion and Favour, to the Ruin of their Pretences."

* * * * * *

"Some others, measuring me by the Propensity of their own Inclinations, concluded I would steal her, run away with her, and Marry her; which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous opportunities I frequently

had of riding and walking abroad with her, by Night as well as by Day, without any other company than her Maid."

* * * * * *

"I was not ignorant of the various Fears which filled the jealous Heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of all humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate Worth and Vertue which adorned that excellent Dame, and attracted the Eyes and Hearts of so many, with the greatest Importunity to seek and solicit her; nor was I so devoid of Natural Heat, as not to feel some Sparklings of Desire, as well as others. But the force of Truth and Sense of Honour supprest whatever would have arisen beyond the bounds of fair and vertuous Friendship."

* * * * * *

"Wherefore, having observed how some others had befool'd themselves, by misconstruing her common Kindness (expressed in an innocent, open, free, and familiar Conversation, springing form the abundant Affability, Courtesy, and Sweetness of her natural Temper), to be the Effect of a singular Regard and peculiar Affection to them, I resolved to shun the Rock, on which I had seen so many run and split; and remembering that saying of the Poet:

'Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum,
Happy's He
Whom others' Dangers wary make to be.'

I governed myself in a free yet respectful Carriage towards her, that I thereby both preserved a fair Reputation with my Friends and Enjoyed as much of her Favour and Kindness, in a virtuous and firm Friendship, as was fit for her to show or for me to seek."*

Ellwood's account of his defence of Guli from rough soldiers on the road, by skilful horsemanship, in 1669, is very entertaining. He acted as business manager for her in dealing with her tenants; and in 1682, when she had been married ten years, she fell ill when her husband was in America, and sent for their friend Thomas Ellwood to support and advise her as of old. The whole story is a beautiful idyll, and a charming Quaker interior, in strong relief from the stormy exterior events which fill the biography of William Penn.

* Autobiography, pp. 181-6.

CHAPTER VII

Newgate

On the 5th of February, 1671 (new style), we find William Penn in London again, suffering from the machinations of Sir Samuel Starling the Lord Mayor, and Sir John Robinson the Governor of the Tower, whom Pepys calls a "bufflehead" and a "loggerhead." He attended meeting at Wheeler Street, and was arrested by a picket of soldiers as he rose to speak, and taken to the Tower. But the authorities now had a trick which did not need the support of a jury whom they could not count on. If you cannot gaol a Quaker in any other way, you present to him the oath of allegiance to the king. He cannot take an oath of any kind, and will refuse to do so, though loyal to the king. You can then send him to gaol easily. This suffering by Friends for apparent disloyalty of which they had none, because they were against all oaths, is a parallel to the reproach for want of patriotism, to which they are liable in time of war, when they are as patriotic as other people, but are against all war. This trick, which constantly assisted the Quaker persecutions, they determined to try on William Penn.

After three hours in the guard room at the Tower he was taken upstairs to the Governor, Starling also being present, and others. But the public were carefully excluded, as experience recommended. The prisoner was examined by Robinson, who began by insolently pretending not to know him, though he had been under his

charge in the Tower for eight months, and they had met recently in the Lord Mayor's court at the Old Bailey. It then appeared that the court did not proceed under the Conventicle Act, but under the Five Mile Act, by which Nonconformist ministers were to be forbidden to reside within five miles of a corporate town. The Lord Mayor had apparently not realised that neither his prisoner nor any other Friend was an official or ordained minister, to whom alone the Act applied. To cut short this difficulty, the Court demanded that the accused should take the oath of allegiance. The usual consequence followed from his refusal. He was sent to Newgate for six months. The verbatim report of the trial is in all the Lives of Penn; it was utterly undignified on the part of the Court, brilliant and courageous on Penn's side. These trials give one the lowest idea of English public life at this degraded time. Penn's final address ran :—

"I would have thee and all other men to know that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it; mine is, and whatever may be my lot for my constant profession of it I am nowise careful, but resigned to answer the will of God, by the loss of goods, liberty, and life itself. When you have all, you can have no more; and then, perhaps, you will be contented, and by that you will be better informed of our innocency. Thy religion persecutes, and mine forgives; and I desire my God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation.

"*Robinson.*—Send a corporal with a file of musketeers along with him.

"*Penn.*—No, no, send thy lacquey; I know the way to Newgate."

No biography of William Penn would be complete without some description of the Newgate of his day. Thomas Ellwood gives the following account of it in his "Autobiography."

" The common side of Newgate is generally accounted, as it really is, the Worst Part of that Prison ; not so much from the Place, as the People : it being usually stocked from the veriest Rogues and meanest sort of Felons and Pick-Pockets, who, not being able to pay Chamber-Rent on the Master's Side, are thrust in there. And if they come in Bad, to be sure they do not go out better : for here they have the opportunity to instruct one another in their Art, and impart to each other what Improvements they have made therein.

" The Common Hall is a good Place to walk in, when the Prisoners are out of it (saving the danger of catching some Cattle, which they may have left in it) : and there I used to walk in a Morning before they were let up, and sometimes in the Day time when they have been there.

" We had the liberty of the Hall (which is on the first story over the gate, and which in the daytime is common to all the prisoners on that side, felons as well as others, to walk in, and to beg out of), and we had also the liberty of some other rooms over the Hall to walk or to work in a-days ; but in the night we all lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel that is over it. To this pillar we fastened our hammocks at one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees or three stories high, one over the other ; so that they who lay in the upper and middle row of hammocks were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher by getting into the lower ; and under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall sides, were laid beds upon the floor, in which the sick and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks lay ; and indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies of different ages, conditions, and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so, for there were many sick, and some very weak. Though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our fellow prisoners, who lay in one of those pallet-beds, died.

" A coroner's inquest being held over the body of the deceased, one of the jury insisted upon being shown the room where he died ; this was granted by the keeper with great reluctance, and when the jury came to the door, the foreman who led them, lifting

up his hands said, ' Lord bless me, what a sight is here ? I did not think there had been so much cruelty in the hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner ! We need not now question,(said he to the rest of the jury),how this man came by his death : we may rather wonder that they are not all dead, for this place is enough to breed an infection among them." . . . .

" I have sometimes occasionally been in the Hall in an Evening and have seen the Whores let in unto them (which I take to be a common Practice) : Nasty sluts indeed they were, and in that respect the more suitable. And as I have passed by them, I have heard the Rogues and them making their Bargains, which and which of them should Company together that Night. Which abominable Wickedness must be imputed to the Dishonesty of the Turnkeys ; who, for vile Gain to themselves, not only suffer but further this Lewdness.

" These are some of the common *Evils*, which make the Common Side of Newgate in measure a Type of Hell upon Earth. But there was, at that time, something of another Nature, more Particular and Accidental, which was very Offensive to me.

" When we came first into Newgate, there lay (in a little By-place like a Closet, near the room where we were Lodged) the Quartered Bodies of three men, who had been Executed some days before, for a real or pretended Plot : which was the ground or at least Pretext, for that Storm in the City, which had caused this Imprisonment. The Names of these three men were Philips, Tongue and Gibs : and the Reason why their Quarters lay so long there was, The Relations were all that while Petitioning to have leave to bury them : which at length, with much ado, was obtained for the Quarters, but not for the Heads, which were Ordered to be set up in some parts of the City.

" I saw the Heads when they were brought up to be Boyled. The Hangman fetch'd them in a dirty Dust Basket, out of some By-Place, and setting them down amongst the Felons, he and they made Sport with them. They took them by the Hair, Flouting, Jeering, and Laughing at them : and then giving them some ill names, box'd them on the Ears and Cheeks. Which done, the Hangman put them into his Kettle, and parboyl'd them with Bay-Salt and Cummin-Seed : that to keep them from Putrefaction, and this to keep off the Fowls from seizing on them. The whole Sight (as well that of the Bloody Quarters first, as this

of the Heads afterwards) was both frightful and loathsom, and begat an Abhorrence in my Nature. Which as it had rendered my Confinement there by much the more uneasie, so it made our removal from thence to Bridewell, even in that respect, the more welcome."

Penn and his friends had hired lodgings on the other side of the gaol, but the ill treatment and abuse they received from the gaolers caused them, as a testimony, to go into " the common stinking gaol, among the felons." He wrote a complaint to the Sheriff of London about it.

William Penn pointed out to Robinson and Starling at the trial that imprisonment would only have the effect of making the sufferer more conspicuous and influential. It might also have been pointed out to them that they were giving him the leisure to write books. During the half year in Newgate he was busy with " *The Great Case of Liberty of Concience,*" a vigorous defence of Toleration, then a novelty: " *Truth Rescued from Imposture,*" the work quoted above on Sir William Penn, " *A Serious Apology for Quakers,*" and several shorter manifestoes.

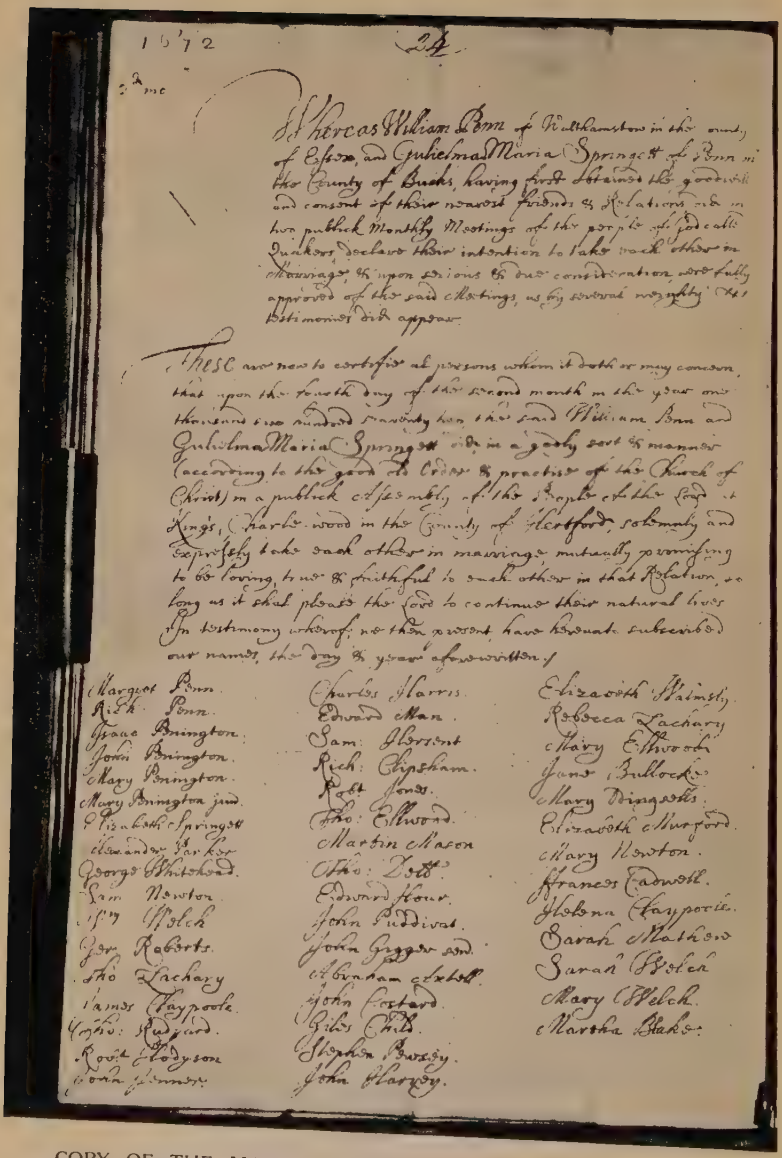
When William Penn was released in August, he went over to Holland and Germany, not, as one might suppose, to recuperate, or not wholly so, for he was preaching the Quaker gospel all the time. Our knowledge of this short journey is derived from incidental allusions taken from his own account of his travels in Holland and Germany in 1677, by which time there was evidently quite a widespread organisation of the Society in that part of the continent. We may remember that William Penn's mother had Dutch connections, and that he could speak both Low and High German, that is both Dutch and what we now call German. A letter which he wrote after his return, to Dr. Haesbert, of Embden, shows that that town on the estuary of the Ems was a place where he found scope for his gospel. The letter to Dr. Haesbert shows that, as ever, Quakerism was an appeal from theological belief and ritual form to inward experience.

"This thou must expect from the carnal fleshly and historical Christian of the outward courts and suburbs of religion, who is an enemy to the spiritual seed that sees to the end of all meats, drinks, washings, figures and bodily exercises." The letter is really a sermon, like most of the epistles of the time. The only personal allusion is in a postcript, "My love is to thy wife, and salute me kindly to those who were at Meeting when I was at Embden."

Penn paid a visit, which must have interested him a good deal, to a little group of Catholic sectaries under the leadership of De Labadie, who had left the Catholic Church in revolt against formalities, and had joined the French Protestants; but their Calvinistic doctrine was not more satisfactory to a seeking mystic, so with a few disciples he moved into Holland, where there was toleration for religious opinions; there he carried on a controversy against the clerical systems about him, so that he had once more to flee, and found protection at the Court of Princess Elisabeth of the Rhine at Herwerden. Here William Penn found him. But De Labadie gave Penn no opportunity to influence any of his flock. This intrusion of personal jealousy into a lofty mysticism struck Penn unfavourably. "I saw the airiness and unstableness of the man's spirit and that a sect master was his name," "and it was upon me, both by word of mouth and by writing, that the enemy would prevail against them to draw them into inconvenient things, if they came not to be stayed in the light of Jesus Christ and to know the holy silence." Penn records later that this did happen to them. Miscarriages fell out at Herwerden and they removed to the north of Holland to the mansion house of the Somerdyke family. Penn says, "Yea, they were something angelical and like to the celestial bodies, yet if they kept not their station they would prove fallen stars." Great indeed in all ages have been the dangers in the path of spiritual research.

INTERIOR OF KING JOHN FARM, CHORLEY WOOD, WHERE WILLIAM PENN WAS MARRIED.

Reproduced by the courtesy of the Hon. Arthur Capell.



1672 24

2d mo

Whereas William Penn of Walthamstow in the county of Essex, and Gulielma Maria Springett of Penn in the County of Bucks, having first obtained the goodwill and consent of their nearest friends & Relations did in two publick Monthly Meetings of the people of God calle Quakers, declare their intention to take each other in Marriage, & upon serious & due consideration were fully approved of the said Meetings, as by several weighty & testimonies did appear.

These are now to certifie all persons whom it doth or may concern, that upon the fourth day of the second month in the year one thousand two hundred seventy two, the said William Penn and Gulielma Maria Springett did in a godly sort & manner (according to the good old Order & practise of the Church of Christ) in a publick Assembly of the People of the Lord at Kings, Charlewood in the County of Hertford, solemnly and expressly take each other in marriage, mutually promising to be loving, true & faithful to each other in that Relation, so long as it shal please the Lord to continue their natural lives. In testimony whereof, we then present, have hereunto subscribed our names, the day & year aforewritten.

Margret Penn.
Rich: Penn.
Isaac Penington.
John Penington.
Mary Penington.
Mary Penington jun.
Elizabeth Springett
Alexander Parker
George Whitehead.
Sam Newton.
Jerry Welch
Ger. Roberts.
Tho Lachary
James Claypoole.
Tho: Rudyard.
Robt Hodyson
John Jenner.

Charles Harris.
Edward Man.
Sam: Hersent
Rich: Clipsham.
Robt Jones.
Tho: Ellwood.
Martin Mason
Tho: Zell.
Edward Hour.
John Puddivat.
John Gigger senr.
Abraham Axtell.
John Costard.
Giles Child.
Stephen Pewsey.
John Harvey.

Elizabeth Walmsly.
Rebecca Lachary
Mary Ellwood
Jane Bullocke
Mary Dingsells.
Elizabeth Murford.
Mary Newton.
Frances Cadwell.
Helena Claypoole.
Sarah Mathew
Sarah Welch
Mary Welch.
Martha Blake.

COPY OF THE MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF WILLIAM AND GULIELMA M. PENN, IN THOMAS ELLWOOD'S HANDWRITING.

Reproduced from original at Somerset House.

The continental journey was most of it travel through " a very dark country," " under a great weight and suffering in my spirit." It seems to have lasted only a few months, after which he returned to his beloved friends near Chalfont. He and Guli were married on April 4th, 1672, and established themselves in a country home at Basing House, Rickmansworth, six miles from Chalfont. Their marriage took place at King's Farm, Chorleywood, a fine old timbered building, a portion of which is still standing.* It was the beginning of some months of rest and happiness such as the stormy life of a Quaker apostle had never yet permitted him. The King's Declaration of Indulgence, which stopped the Quaker persecution for a time, came just when the young people were settling down in their lovely country home to the earliest days of wedded happiness. In the beautiful advice to his children which William Penn wrote long after Guli was dead, he says that she loved him with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors. The congenial task of establishing a home occupied his unresting spirit till September, when he went on a journey in the ministry in the counties of Kent, Sussex and Surrey, holding meetings at twenty-one different places in three weeks, a task more serious in those days of riding and driving than now. The journey seems to have been a very fruitful one. Penn writes: " And thus hath the Lord been with us in all our travels for truth, and in His blessing of peace are we returned, which is a blessing beyond all worldly treasure."

* The farm has of late years been renovated and much added to by the Hon. Arthur Capell, who has taken a great interest in the Penn associations of the district.

CHAPTER VIII

A Quaker Apostle in Controversy

1672-1675

We have now reached the autumn of 1672, and though William Penn was still only twenty-eight we may think of him as a mature and established personality. His convictions had taken their lifelong form, and had borne the test of Newgate and the Tower, as well as the harder conflict with family affection. He had now put the world well behind him, and had entered on the stormy and adventurous career of a Quaker apostle. He was happily married and settled in life, and a little family was growing up around the parents' knees at Basing House. For anything that he knew, he was now embarking on the business of his life, a business of constant battle. These years were at any rate filled, like the Iliad, with war, and he could not know that the more famous Odyssey was yet to be written concerning the seas and the shores of the West. Taking together the next three years, we find him constantly travelling in the ministry, accompanied at the beginning of the time by his helpful and charming wife. But besides the nervous energy perpetually expended in preaching, he was always carrying on printed controversy. During this time he wrote no fewer than twenty-six books and pamphlets, some, as we shall see, of great length, and all full of matter. They included two political works, "*A Treatise on Oaths*," and "*England's Present Interest Considered*." The

Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 had the effect of letting controversy loose between Friends and the other Nonconformist churches. During the period of imprisonment the latter had followed the dictates of what they called Christian prudence, and if they held their meetings at all they held them out of sight, at places and times where it was quite easy for any, except a very zealous official, to know nothing about them. Friends, however, had no mind to follow their example. Their meetings had been held ostentatiously at the usual place and time. If they were kept out of the Meeting House, they held it in the street. If the Meeting House was destroyed they met among the ruins. If all the grown-up people were put in prison the children held the meeting by themselves. On Friends, therefore, had fallen the brunt of the Anglican attack. Under their shelter the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Independent had escaped. All this had naturally led to an increase of the Society at the expense of the other denominations, a state of things sure to produce acrid controversy, and William Penn was now a leading swordsman in the fray. Joseph Besse rightly says that " he never turned his back in the day of battle." The controversy with Thomas Hicks, at the beginning of 1673, was the most important of these, and well worth treating in full. Others may be briefly summarised.

An anonymous author wrote *The Spirit of the Quakers Tried*, and Penn answered with *The Spirit of Truth Vindicated*. The eccentric visionaries, Ludovic Muggleton and John Reeve (the latter comparing himself to Moses, as the recipient of revelations which he was bidden to communicate to Muggleton, whom he compared to Aaron) were making much stir at this time, and were often confused with Friends, probably wilfully, by the Government. They would hardly have made this mistake if they had read William Penn's letter to " Ludovic Muggleton, an Accuser of the Brethren, False Prophet and Impostor (though otherwise an adversary of little

moment)." John Morse, of Watford, received a reply to his defamations in a book called *Plain Dealing with a Traducing Anabaptist.* Henry Hedworth wrote a paper called *Controversy Ended,* provoking from William Penn in answer *A Winding-sheet for Controversy Ended.* John Faldo, an Independent preacher near Barnet, gradually losing his congregation, wrote, not unnaturally, a book called *Quakerism no Christianity.* Penn replied in *Quakerism a new Nickname for Old Christianity.* Faldo followed with *A Vindication* and Penn rejoined with *The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication.* Faldo then sent William Penn a challenge to an intellectual combat, to which Penn replied. Faldo then published *A Curb to William Penn's Confidence,* and Penn responded with *A Return to John Faldo's Reply,* and so got the last word. Henry Halliwell wrote *An Account of Familism as it is revised and propagated by the Quakers.* This was, of course, a slander, and Penn published a treatise entitled *Wisdom Justified of Her Children.* We have not, however, quite done with Faldo, for " One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines " wrote a commendatory preface to a new edition of Faldo's book *Quakerism no Christianity.* Penn in response gave *A Just Rebuke to One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines,* with a vigorous preface. Samuel Grevil, a priest near Banbury, published a discourse against the testimony of the Light Within, to which William Penn replied with *Urim and Thummin.*

This somewhat tedious list may give the reader, if he has enough patience to read it, a better idea of our hero's life at this time than generalities would give him. We now come, however, to the more interesting case of Thomas Hicks, a Baptist preacher. Early in 1673, this man brought out *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker,* thereby excluding Quakerism from the pale of Christianity, and of course giving much the best of the argument to the Christian. The verisimilitude of the writing was such that it gave the impression of being the

VIEW OF BACK OF BASING HOUSE, RICKMANSWORTH.
Where William Penn spent his early married life.
From pencil sketch by George Coventry in the Gibson MSS.

report of an actual dialogue. We know how provoking it is to have one's views put badly by an adversary, and William Penn wrote in reply one of his most important books, *The Christian-Quaker and His Divine Testimony Stated and Vindicated from Scripture, Reason and Authority.* It occupies seventy large folio pages, closely printed, in the Collected Works, and is written with the usual exuberant lack of restraint in style. It is, however, thoroughly central to the Quaker gospel, and I will attempt a summary of it.

William Penn began by defining salvation as being saved from sin here and the wages of it in the wrath to come, his point being to attack the current doctrine that salvation merely meant being saved from punishment hereafter. He defines the Light which leads to salvation as that which discovers the state of man and leads to blessedness. " It enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and every one that doeth evil hateth the light lest his deeds should be reproved." He met the objection that all men did not obey the Light they were supposed to have, also the objection to the Light's sufficiency, an objection derived from the imperfection of human knowledge and perception. He says that the words seed, light, word, spirit, life, truth, power, unction, bread, water, flesh and blood of Christ, are all essentially the same thing and signify the divine principle in man. He then proves that the Light was antecedent to Christ's coming and " saved man from Adam's day through the holy Patriarchs and Prophets." This argument, occupying chapter five, is an argument derived from the Scriptures. The imaginary objector in chapter six replies that that may be all very well for the Chosen People, but the Gentiles had no such privilege. The reply to this shows William Penn at his best, and he is easily victorious.

In the seventh and five following chapters he brings a perfectly marvellous store of classical and patristic

learning to bear on his favourite theme, so characteristic of early Quakerism, the nobility and the true and acceptable faith of the non-Christian world. The great and noble of all ages fill his pages with their resonant voices of inspiration, and put to shame the tin trumpets of his Christian evangelical opponents. The points of what he calls Gentile Divinity are these: that the Gentiles believed that there was one God, that He enlightened all men with a saving light, that all men ought to live piously, that the soul is immortal, that there is an eternal recompense. Point by point he proves these from the Greek and Roman philosophers and moralists. Many of his references are given from the originals, many also he quotes from the writings of Clement of Alexandria, of whose works he was not unnaturally a great student. Friends, indeed, are in the line of the successors of Clement and the early Greek Fathers, as Calvin was in the line that came down from Augustine. These extracts are in themselves the choicest fruits of ancient literature, and they must have been a storehouse of reinforcement to the plain dalesmen, who before the convincement of Isaac Penington, Robert Barclay and William Penn, followed their own intuition and the unlettered spiritual genius of George Fox.

There is something scriptural about these traditional words of Orpheus far back beyond the dawn of history, quoted by Clement of Alexandria: "His hand reaches to the end of the sea, His right hand is everywhere, and the earth is under His feet. He is only begot of Himself, and of Him alone are all things begot, and God is the first and the last." Through Hesiod we come to Thales with his reference to "One God glorious for ever; he who knows hearts and has neither beginning nor end." He draws through Clement on the Sibylline books and through Jamblichus on Pythagoras. Heraclitus, when impeached for being an enemy to idolatry, writes as Isaiah might have written. Through Anaxagoras he comes down to his

favourite Socrates, on whom he draws liberally for all the propositions of his Gentile Divinity. William Penn was in the sequence of Socrates, and so I trust are Friends. From Plato he passes to Zeno and the Stoics. Altogether he brings sixteen authorities to support his view that Monotheism was held outside either Judaism or Christianity.

His second fundamental of Gentile Divinity, namely that God hath imprinted the knowledge of Himself on the minds of all mankind, is supported by twelve testimonies of individuals and societies. Hiero spoke of a domestic God or God within the hearts and souls of men: "The eternal mind is God manifesting himself in every particular of us. God is that which in mortal men gives them to know aright concerning God." The Daimon of Socrates and the psychology of Plato and the mysticism of Plotinus form a rich store for quotation. Cleanthes, Philo, Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca are copiously quoted.

Penn concludes this chapter with the words,

"How much more weighty, O Sober and impartial Reader, are these inward doctrines of the Virtuous Gentiles than the Vehement Clamours and uncharitable exclamations of empty Christians against them? Who seem as if they were afraid of nothing more than inherent Holiness, though of Christ's working, reputing it a kind of Undervaluing of his Blood, to feel the inward benefit of it; accounting us the greatest Hereticks for assenting to the greatest Truth, to wit, the Sufficiency of His Universal Light in the hearts of men, to salvation."

The ninth chapter is full of confirmation of these truths, from the early Christian Fathers, those to whom Friends habitually appeal in their testimony against war and oaths, Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen and Lactantius. There are also later Fathers such as Athanasius, Chrysostom and Augustine. Athanasius, in reply to the heathen question, "How know you that yours is the right way?" seems to have said, "The way

whereby to attain to the knowledge of God is within us, which is proved from Moses, who saith, 'The Word of God is within thy heart,' and from this saying of Christ, 'The faith and kingdom of God is within you.'"

The next point in Gentile Divinity, that they were men of virtuous lives and taught that that was indispensable, is proved in voluminous extracts, but will hardly be in dispute. A quotation from Socrates, very apropos to the *Christian-Quaker*, is given:

"I think it most unbeseeming of a philosopher to sell his advice, and extremely contrary to my practice, for ever since by God's hand I entered into Philosophy I was never known to take anything, but keep my exercises in public for everyone to hear that will."

Chapter eleven proves the belief in immortality from the ancient philosophers, in which, naturally, the Pythogoreans and Socrates are conspicuous, including the famous quotation from the Crito.

He closes with Vergil, Æneid VI., 745-7:

"Donec longa Dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem."

Which we may translate:

"Till the long age, in time's completed round, has taken away the worn material frame, and left pure the divine faculty and clear-shining air."

And adds the Golden Distich of the Pythagoreans.

"Ην δ'απολείψας σώμα ἐς ἀιθερ' ἐλέυθερον ἔλης
"Εσσεὰι ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος οὐκ ἐτι θνητὸς.

"And when thou hast left the body and entered the free air, thou shalt be immortal, an undying god no longer subject to death."

Finally William Penn believed that the heathen had a sight of the coming of Christ. Here we touch the world-wide vague mystery of the Messianic hope which William Penn expounds as he and so many others have found it,

in the famous Fourth Eclogue of Virgil.* Modern classical authority is more inclined to ascribe the Eclogue to laureate flattery about some coming prince of the house of Augustus.

The author proceeds in his thirteenth chapter to admit "that the Jew and much more the Christian has the advantage of the Gentile, yet that the Gentile had enough for salvation." He next faces the central objection to his position, which he states as follows :

"Certainly this Light within can be, at most, but the Law in the Conscience, answering to the first Covenant: For here is scarce any Mention made of Christ in this long Discourse; and if this Light were Christ, as is affirmed by you Quakers, then how comes it, that he was not so called of Old by the Jews and Greeks? And why Typified to come, when he was come before, and whilst Typified? And further in what Sense can he be understood to bear our Iniquities, and Men and Women to be saved by his Blood, if this Light be the Saviour, Messiah, Christ, etc., as you believe, and endeavour to maintain now in the World?"

Several chapters are occupied in replying to this in detail, but they do not fit to our thinking, and the objection itself is only given here to show the kind of argument current at the time. It would appear that theological writing is subject to a heavy death rate. Theological conceptions are the final consummation, and represent the total conclusions, of all the impressions we receive. The result of so many variable and ever-changing factors must itself be subject to rapid variation. Doubtless the few eternal truths come down to us from the earliest ages fresh and young, but the frameworks of our thought melt soon after dawn in the sunshine of each new age.

* Part of the passage runs :

"Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.
Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto."

"In the fulness of time a new order rises. Now returns the Virgin Justice, and Saturn's happy reign. A new Son is sent down from heaven above."

Chapter eighteen consists of "A Confession, in particular to Redemption, Remission, Justification, and Salvation by Christ." This is a long chapter, but it is written without enthusiasm, and one has the feeling that the author is making admissions and granting concessions to tradition all through. It is extremely difficult to find in the voluminous paragraphs a very clear connection between these ordinary orthodox Christian positions and the Gospel of the Light Within. There is no contrast or antagonism between this chapter and the others, but it dwells on a different level of thought. It is a Treatise which might have been published by itself. Its relation to the rest of the book may perhaps be expressed in the following paragraph, which is very typical of the author's style:

"To conclude: We say, though this General Victory was obtained, and Holy Privileges therewith, and that the Holy Body was instrumentally a Sharer therein, yet both the Efficient or Chiefest Cause was the Divine Light of Life, that so clearly discriminated and deeply wounded this Mystery of Iniquity, and that none can be thereby benefited, but as they come to Experience the Holy Seed of Life, who is God's Mighty Arm of Power, Revealed to effect the same Salvation from Sin, in each Particular Conscience; and which none can fail of, who first receive it as a Light that Manifesteth and Reproveth Every Evil Way, and continue to walk up to it in all its Holy Manifestations."

The book ends with a chapter to show that Christ is the Light, based largely on the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel, and an argument that the Light Within is universal and sufficient, and that obedience to it produces righteousness.

Hicks replied to the book by a "Continuation" of his former Dialogue. Neither disputant had yet referred personally to the other, but the same cannot be said of William Penn's reply, "*Reason against Railing and Truth against Fiction*, in which Thomas Hicks' Disingenuity is Represented, his Profaneness is Rebuked, his Perjuries

are Detected, his Cavils are Confounded, and Thomas Hicks is proved no Christian by Several Short Arguments Raised from his Ungodly Way of Procedure against Us," by " one who cannot but contend earnestly for the True Faith once delivered to the Saints, William Penn." This is the title page of a book not so long as the "*Christian-Quaker*" but still containing 50,000 words and full of very mighty abuse. Hicks replied with a further " Continuation " of his Dialogue, but the early Friends did not feel it to be part of their non-resistance doctrine to give their opponents the last word, and Penn's final answer was called "*The Counterfeit Christian Detected*, Against the Vile Forgeries, Gross Perversions, Black Slanders,. Plain Contradictions and Scurrilous Language of T. Hicks an Annabaptist Preacher, by a Lover of Truth and Peace, W.P." Hicks made no reply.

What had annoyed Friends so much over this business was the controversial device employed by Hicks of putting all kinds of foolish arguments into their own mouths in dialogue. William Penn described the imaginary Quaker in the dialogue as " A man of straw and a fool and a knave of his own creating." Friends felt apparently that they were not yet vindicated, and appealed to the Baptist body to punish Hicks for what they called his " Forgeries." Their case was so strong that the Baptists felt obliged to grant an opportunity for a public discussion in which Hicks should be brought to account, and the meeting was appointed to be held at the Baptist Meeting House at the Barbican, but the Baptists contrived to fix the meeting for a day on which William Penn and George Whitehead, the Quaker champions, were away in the country and could not be brought back at short notice. In consequence the assembly at the Barbican exonerated Hicks with great unction, no accusers being present. But William Penn was not the man to suffer injustice of this kind. He hastened to London and found that the whole town was talking of the contro-

versy and of the victory of Hicks. It is quite evident that, though these controversial books are unreadable by us, they were great events in the popular view of the time. William Penn put forth a strong appeal to the public on the latest trick of the Baptists and demanded a new meeting. The Baptists replied that a man could not be tried twice. Friends pointed out the timidity of this plea, and the result was that public feeling was so strong that the Baptists were obliged to appoint a second meeting at the Barbican. William Penn, in a letter to George Fox, says that not less than six thousand persons were present. Making all allowance for the exaggeration of the size of meetings which appears to be habitual with everybody, one can only marvel at this revelation of the strength of religious feeling among the common people, even in the depth of the Restoration days. The meeting began by Thomas Ellwood reading the charges against Hicks, but the company did not appear to want to hear that. Somebody called out from the middle of the room "If Christ was the Inner Light, where was his Manhood," and by shouts and disturbances Friends were compelled to enter into an improvised controversy on this profound and difficult theological point. As soon as they agreed to do this and to abandon the personal charges, silence ensued, and an orderly meeting was held. The Quaker speakers were George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, William Penn and George Keith. A narrative of the debate is given in Sewel's History of Friends, Vol. II., pages 216, 232 234 and in the single volume edition, pages 522-525. The argument went on till it was dark. William Penn called for lights, but the Baptists represented that the doors had been broken by the crowd, and the seats torn out of their places. These would need repair before the morning, so the meeting must close and the discussion be handed over to a deputation from each side. This was accepted; but at the meeting which was held, no agreement was come to, and the Baptists, asserting that the room was over-

crowded and the gallery giving way, broke up the gathering. The substance of the arguments, as given in Sewel, are no more edifying than theological swordplay usually is. With regard to the central point, whether the human historical Jesus was a part of the eternal Christ who is the Light, Friends were prepared to answer that the manhood was a part of the Christ, but William Penn, in describing the affair to George Fox, says that he feared the word " part " and chose rather to say that we believe the holy manhood of Jesus to be a member of the Christ of God. He thought that the word " part " implied a division in Christ, whereas " member " did not, that " A body may be taken into members without breach of union, but not into parts. A member divides not, parts divide. Christ is called the head, that is the most noble member—the Church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body."*

The other controversies of this period were on similar lines and need not be described in detail. In spite of ingenious refinements of this kind, one receives from the writings of the early Friends the impression that they had not succeeded in finding or stating the connection between the historical and inward Christ in a clear way. There has not been published, even now, any philosophic account of the identity which we have always asserted between the historical human Jesus of Nazareth and a living and universal spiritual Presence. The traditional view about the personality of Jesus, and the lack of a sufficiently scientific psychology, have combined to prevent the solution of this puzzle in our own day.

However, the conception of the subliminal self has, through the work of the Society for Psychical Research, become part of the current coin of philosophy. We

* This letter to George Fox was printed by Clarkson in his " Life," p. 46, copied by Janney, p. 100, and in Hepworth Dixon's first edition, p. 153. It is also referred to in George Fox's Journal.

realise that there is at the back of the external mind a large range of faculties below the threshold of consciousness,—a man in the cellar,—to put into English the literal meaning of " subliminal." This region is still only partially explored. It contains faculties both higher and lower than those of the normal man. There are to be found there remnants of personality that have been outgrown in the course of civilisation, and the dim beginning of faculties that have not yet been reached in our spiritual evolution. Not all that is subliminal is wise and good. Nevertheless it is also true that in this great untapped reservoir of the water of life are to be found the hidden origins of motive, the bases of visible character, and contact with that spiritual environment where God dwells. In this great region of the soul lie the fountains of inspiration, the track of prayer, and the way to the Whole, the universal soul. This is the region of mystical experience, and all religions are so many means of battering at its gates. In terms of this conception, then, we find the key to the experience of the early Friends, the psychical explanation which has been lacking. The subliminal mind of Jesus Christ was such that it is fitting to call him a Son of God, a human phrase which tells of a spiritual affinity, of a descent comparable to the physical relation of father and son. A subliminal personality like His, stimulated by His, crystallised under the same laws of crystallisation as His, and bearing to His a relation of close kinship, is what the Friend means when he speaks of the birth of the Divine Creature, of the Light of Christ within, and of the eternal Word of God, the light and life of men. The humanity of Jesus of Nazareth presents no difficulty, for it is not questioned. The link between the inward and outward in Him is no more mysterious than the link between the inward and outward in ourselves. The identity is in the subliminal region.

This theory has come to me from a lifelong study of the

work of the Society for Psychical Research, and it has been a great delight to find that the venerable Professor Sanday of Oxford, our greatest living theologian, has in his recent book, "Christologies Ancient and Modern," adopted the above as his final and accepted view. The earlier chapters of his book are devoted to criticising and exposing the errors in all the other Christologies of history, and then he closes on the kinship between the subliminal self of Jesus and the anointing that comes to ours. "We have the mind of Christ" is the Apostle Paul's way of putting it. The subliminal, in this sense, is, it will be seen, an accurate scientific term which includes what we popularly have called the Soul.

The year 1673 brought also to William Penn a task which must have been far more troublesome than that of attacking the open foes of Quakerism; and the two books which it evoked from him are among those we would most willingly let die. They were written against that cantankerous apostate, John Perrot. One of the most annoying things in life is to see what one values foolishly exaggerated and made to look ridiculous by being travestied by some knave or fool. John Perrot was a man of unbalanced egotistical temperament, in whom the doctrine of the Indwelling God acted like a poison. He began to preach as soon as he joined Friends, and about 1660 felt it his duty to go with one John Love, or Luff, to convert the Pope at Rome. They passed the Inquisition at Leghorn and delivered their message securely to the Doge of Venice, but when they reached Rome they testified, in what language I do not know, against the idolatry and corruption which they found there. This, as they must have known would be the case, landed them both in prison. Love perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition, whose authorities reported that he had fasted to death, but some nuns said that he had been despatched in the night to get rid of him. It seemed more proper to put Perrot into a lunatic asylum, from

which he was finally released by the exercise of influence from England upon some highly placed person in Rome. On his release he wrote an Epistle to England, signed simply, " John," in imitation of the Apostle, and exhorted Friends to read his " Life " in their Meetings. He even wrote a letter to " several grave women " and signed it " Your tender sister, John. " He wrote chapters in imitation of the Proverbs of Solomon, and seems to have given a most improbable account of his own sufferings in Rome. When he returned he set out to be more spiritual than George Fox himself, and propounded the view that you ought not to take off your hat in time of prayer unless you felt specially moved to do so at the time ; and not, as a rule, feeling so moved he habitually kept on his hat Trifling in importance as this practice really is, it was a dreadful back-hander for Friends. They refused to take off their hats to anyone but the Most High on the ground that it was a form of reverence due to Him alone. Perrot's exaggeration and claim to independent judgment attacked the whole basis of their usage about the hat in the name of that very individual freedom which they claimed. One cannot be surprised that among the more frothy spirits this kind of thing should occur. Its importance in the Society's history is really small, but at the time it appeared serious, and a great number of Friends were attracted by the speciousness of the argument, including for a while Thomas Ellwood, who writes," I, amongst the many who were catched in that snare, was taken with the notion, as what then seemed to my weak understanding suitable to the doctrine of a spiritual dispensation." He and most others soon fell in with the more decorous practice of the leaders ; but George Fox had to hold great meetings to bring this about. One was held in London for many days, the time being occupied in reading letters from distant Friends abjuring their falling away. Perrot was disowned after careful persuasion had failed to move him. He began to wear gaudy attire and a sword, visited

America, where he is said to have grievously misbehaved himself, and finally obtained a Government position and became a rigid exacter of oaths, which he had formerly abjured. About 1673 he began to write violent attacks on Friends, in which George Fox and others were called "ravening wolves," and a whole vocabulary of similar epithets was brought into use in an anonymous pamphlet called *The Spirit of the Hat, or the Government of the Quakers;* and William Penn felt it his duty to write in reply, *The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith Justly Rebuked.* Perrot again replied with *Tyranny and Hypocrisy Detected,* in which all kinds of falsehoods were heaped upon Friends and many vile slanders expounded at length. William Penn replied with *Judas and the Jews Combined Against Christ and his Followers,* the step from Alexander the coppersmith to Judas typifying broadly the increasing bitterness of the polemic. One can only wish that William Penn had never had to mix in this troublesome and undignified controversy. There the matter ended. Its only interest for us is as a type of the task before the founders of Quakerism, of maintaining some measure of order, dignity and uniformity in their practice, and giving the voice of the majority its proper weight.*

Penn's Baptist and Presbyterian opponents found great joy in these Quaker excesses, which must have brought discredit on the whole movement. That is the meaning of "Judas and the Jews combined." One marriage seems to have been made without any ceremony, as a protest against formality (Collected Works, Vol. II., p. 223), and one of the followers of Perrot publicly tore the Bible to pieces and another burned it, with the view of showing their independence of the letter (p. 213). These were the very points on which Friends were open to attacks and misunderstanding, so that a few ill-balanced and conceited people were able to do very considerable harm, however unimportant in themselves.

* Sewel, pp. 257, 290, 291.

Perrot posted up his title-pages on posts in the city with torches to light them and a guard by night, just as though they were notices of theatres and football matches.

A more decorous and worthy adversary fell to William Penn shortly after this, in the year 1675, namely the famous Richard Baxter, leader of the Presbyterians. He lived near Rickmansworth, and, discovering that that district was becoming filled with Quakers, be became alarmed; and the result was a public debate between himself and William Penn, which occupied seven hours. The audience filled two large rooms. It is not clear how the difficulty of the two rooms was met, and no account of the actual contents of the debate has been preserved. The county families attended, and it must have been a striking sight to see the tall handsome young Quaker, dressed in the ordinary garb, face to face with the older cleric who generally referred to his opponent as "this man," but once, we hope in a moment of excitement, as a devil.* This we learn from five letters addressed afterwards by Penn to Baxter by way of continuing the argument and arranging for a second opportunity. It is clear that this took place, but the correspondence does not leave it clear whether a third was arranged or not. Penn was pressing for it and Baxter is accused of evading it. The subjects of these debates were "The True and False Ministry," "The True and False Church," and "The Sufficiency of the Light Within all Men to Eternal Salvation." They seem to have spoken plainly. William Penn describes "thy senseless, headless, tailless talk. I perceive the scurvy of the mind is thy distemper. I fear it is incurable." He, however, speaks of the civility and kindness which he had received at the second conference, which had led him on his side to gentler treatment than he could have meted out; and it is very comforting that the correspondence concludes "in which dear Love of God,

* Collected Works, Vol. I., p. 170.

JORDANS MEETING HOUSE AND BURIAL GROUND.

Richard Baxter, I do forgive thee and desire thy good and felicity."*

It is a long time since we have had to record anything about gaols, due to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the early part of 1672, but its unconstitutional character was attacked by the Parliament of 1673, and Charles, under advice from Louis XIV., submitted. Bonfires in London expressed the joy of the inhabitants at the tearing up of the Declaration of Indulgence. The Test Act was immediately passed, and an Appeal which was to have accompanied it, relieving Nonconformist Protestants, was not proceeded with; so that we have persecution beginning again violently in 1674. Penn wrote a letter to the King, pointing out where the persecution was raging the hardest, and asked for his assistance.

George Fox was thrown into prison at Worcester for refusing the Oath of Allegiance. Friends in London, finding the local authorities angry and obstinate, tried to remove him by a writ of habeas corpus to the King's Bench. William Penn and William Mead finally got access to the Duke of York, and had an interview in which the Duke reproached Penn for not having come to see him for eight years. This was the restoration of the ancient friendship. William Mead was also extraordinarily pleased with their reception, and said so afterwards with great delight. This Penn records in an "Autograph Apology for Himself" written in sadder years to come, when William Mead was one of the Friends who criticised him for his affinities with the court.† They succeeded in releasing Fox after fourteen months in prison.

The situation produced two important and valuable political works in the year 1675—*A Treatise on Oaths*, written by William Penn with the assistance, probably

* Collected Works, Vol. I., p. 176.

† Janney, pp. 109-111, and Memoirs Penn, Hist. Soc., Vol Part II., p. 240.

nominal, of Richard Richardson, which was endorsed by eleven other leading Friends. The Quaker testimony against oaths may be put into a nutshell, namely that it is directly forbidden by Christ and the Apostle James in passages which cannot possibly refer to profane swearing, and that it degrades truthfulness and puts the veracity of ordinary assertions at a discount. The remarkable thing about the book, however, is that, after arguing the case at full length and in great detail, Penn proceeds to support it by quotations from a hundred and twenty-two authors both well known and little known, beginning with his beloved Greek philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, and going on to the Greek and Roman Stoics, and so to the Christian Fathers both early and late, and down through the mediæval times to Wycliffe and many mystical sects, and on to Erasmus and the Reformation, and to the Prince of Orange in the previous year 1674. This work was done so thoroughly that it will never have to be done again, and for sheer learning it is a wonderful performance. There can have been few greater scholars (not using the word in the narrower schools sense) in the seventeenth century than William Penn. He must have supplemented his brief Oxford education with much work on these lines in the fruit-bearing period at Saumur ; and even this can only have been the entrance to a studious life enriched by marvellous intellectual aptitude.

His second political treatise is also one which does not deserve the oblivion which has fallen upon it. It is a masterly pronouncement in favour of liberty and toleration entitled *England's Present Interest Considered, with Honour to the Prince and Safety to the People.** The author was profoundly convinced that the state of England was far from well, and saw plainly that it was mainly due to attempts at coercion, particularly coercion in matters of religion. He puts the situation in his Preface, where the following passages occur :

* Collected Works, Vol. I., p. 672.

"Persons have been flung into Gaols, Gates and Trunks broke open, Goods distrained, till a Stool hath not been left to sit down on: Flocks of Cattle driven, whole Barns full of Corn seized, Thresh'd, and carried away; Parents left without their Children, Children without their Parents, both without Subsistence . . .

". . . But that which aggravates the Cruelty is, The Widow's Mite hath not escaped their hands: they have made her Cow the Forfeiture of her Conscience; not leaving her a bed to lye on, nor a Blanket to cover her. And which is yet more Barbarous, and helps to make up this Tragedy, the poor Helpless Orphan's Milk, Boiling over the Fire, has been flung to the Dogs, and the Skillet made Part of their Prize. . . .

". . . For to see the imprison'd has been Suspicion enough for a Gaol; and to visit the Sick, to make a Conventicle: Fining and Straining for Preaching, and being at a Meeting, where there hath been neither; and Forty Pounds for Twenty, at Pick and Choose too, is a moderate advance with some of them. . . . So that in some Places it hath been sufficient to a Premunire, that Men have had Estates to lose; I mean such Men, who through Tenderness refuse the Oath. . . . For besides all other Inconveniences to those that give them Trouble, their very Sufferings beget that Compassion in the Multitude, which rarely misses of making many Friends, and proves often a Preparation for not a few Proselytes. . . . Contests naturally draw Company, and the Vulgar are justified in their Curiosity, if not Pity, when they see so many Wiser Men busie themselves to suppress a People, by whom they see no other Ill, than that for Non-Conformity in Matters of Religion they bear Injuries and Indignities Patiently. . . ."

The Treatise which follows shows the author to have been as full of learning in the region of politics as in that of religion. We have a plea in favour of the security of person and estate against the Government, the right of free voting and of trial by an independent jury. The voice is the voice of Pym and Hampden, supported by quotations from the champions of the British Constitution from the earliest times. It contains, among other things, an account of the solemn curse pronounced by the Bishops in the year 1253 against the breakers of the

Great Charter, a passage which was, no doubt, the source of Whittier's poem "The Charter Breakers." The emphasis of the work was in its plea for religious toleration, in the chapter "Of our Superiors Governing Themselves upon a Ballance as Near as May Be towards the Several Religious Interests." If religious toleration still remained an important issue among us, we should find no stronger plea, nor any historical treatment more richly illustrated, than the one which William Penn has left to us. He concludes also with a positive plea in favour of general and practical religion. When it appeared, the country was ablaze with persecution and the infamous trade of the informers at its height. One may feel sure that such a work, by one of the most prominent men in England, cannot but have had a large circulation, and contributed to the strong effort for liberty which filled the next few years after 1675, and only failed because it was mixed up with falsehoods like the Popish Plot agitation, errors like the Rye House fiasco, and the political misdirections of Shaftesbury.

CHAPTER IX

New Jersey

THE preceding chapter has given but a faint idea of the struggle against persecution which Friends were enduring at this time, nor have the efforts of their influential young leader been set out in any detail. He appealed to the King on behalf of Friends, he visited statesmen personally, he published accounts of their widespread sufferings. In the midst of the dark and miserable landscape which England presented, however, there was a distant gleam of hope in the far-off American plantations. In our now well-explored and accessible earth there is probably no place so really remote, not Australia or China or Peru, as were the estuaries of the Hudson and the Delaware in the reign of Charles II. The labour, time, risk and expense involved in reaching them, and the lack of all regular communication, were likely to dishearten anyone to whom life in England had not been made quite intolerable. The traveller to-day, steaming one hundred miles up the broad estuary of the Delaware, from Cape May to Philadelphia, and rejoicing to have reached smooth water again, passes a land of fruitful orchards and farms and old-fashioned country towns built of wooden houses, the very abode of comfort and peace. On the left shore are Delaware and Pennsylvania, on the right the state of New Jersey, famous for peaches, with its Atlantic seaboard covered by a long string of seaside resorts, and including large suburban districts of both New York and Philadelphia. Not as starving men come, but as Seeley once said, in the

spirit of Abraham or Aeneas came the founders of these now ancient settlements. They named the settlements after the homes they had left, Chester, Newark, Burlington, Newcastle. On the flat plain of New Jersey lies a county called Cumberland.

Of all the founders of America, William Penn was the greatest, and he will remain the most famous. He was led to his great task by circumstances, gradually, as is almost always the case with men who do great things. The Penns were a sea-faring family. Admiral Penn had conquered Jamaica, and had held shadowy claims to estates there, which Cromwell had never given him, but which he hoped the Stuarts might. William Penn wrote in 1681 concerning Pennsylvania: "This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661 at Oxford, twenty years since." Thus the boy is father to the man, and the undergraduate's dream of liberty in a new Utopia made him ready to grasp the opportunity when it came.

The next stage was his entanglement, through no initiative of his own, in the affairs of New Jersey, in the year 1675. The Dutch had a great province which they called New Netherlands, which stretched from the shores of the Delaware to the Connecticut River. This fell to England in 1664, as a prize at the close of the Dutch wars of Charles II: but according to the lamentably corrupt ways of the Restoration Government these conquests were regarded as royal properties for the enrichment of King and courtiers. The King made this province over to his brother James, Duke of York, whilst it was still in Dutch hands. The Duke, not to lose time, also anticipated the conquest by granting the region lying between the Hudson and the Delaware estuaries to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. They were to divide it. As soon as the British sailors had defeated the Dutch sailors, these gentlemen entered upon the plunder, and the region was named New Jersey because Sir George

Carteret was a Jersey man. The only people likely to colonise the place and render it a remunerative speculation were the persecuted Nonconformists, so that the speculative proprietors were quite willing that the English penal laws should have no place across the ocean. Some Puritans from New England responded, and settled on the Eastern seaboard, and a few English Quakers were to be found amongst them. Lord Berkeley found his position as an absentee landlord very difficult and disputatious, and he was willing to sell.

Now as early as 1660 George Fox had been thinking of forming a colony of Friends in this region. Josiah Coale went that year to the Susquehanna, now Maryland and Virginia, as an agent of Friends in England, to try to negotiate for a Quaker colony. But Indian wars and other things prevented his achieving this object. ("Quakers in American Colonies," p. 358). It is to be noted that Josiah Coale, who had been twice to America, was intimate with William Penn, and immediately after the latter's convincement went with him home, to help him in the forthcoming painful interview with the Admiral. When Lord Berkeley threw his property upon the market George Fox had just returned from a visit to the American settlements in 1673. William and Gulielma Penn met him at Bristol, and he came with them to London and stayed at their house at Rickmansworth. The talk would be of the Western wilderness and the Quakers already there. It was decided that Friends should buy the property, which they did for the sum of £1,000 in the year 1674. The purchaser was Edward Byllinge, acting through John Fenwick as his agent. Though they were both Friends, Fenwick (a newly-convinced Cromwellian) disputed with Byllinge about his share in the property, and the matter was referred to William Penn as arbitrator. Fenwick was very unwilling to accept the award, and William Penn had much difficulty in persuading him to do so. In the end, however,

he was satisfied, and embarked with his family in the ship *Griffith*. They landed at "a pleasant rich spot" on the Delaware, theirs being the first English ship that had sailed its waters. There they founded the town of Salem, N.J.

Edward Byllinge became embarrassed in his circumstances, and to satisfy his creditors proposed to transfer his American property to them, and at his earnest entreaty William Penn consented to be associated with two trustees representing the creditors in administering the trust. This was the opening of the door, and was no doubt so accepted by a busy man, inasmuch as the New Jersey property was already occupied by a number of refugees for conscience' sake, whose affairs came annually before Friends in London. And we cannot doubt that behind that he saw the chance of founding a new Utopia across the sea. First it was necessary to separate his territory from that of Sir George Carteret. This was a troublesome business, but was finally achieved, Sir George Carteret taking the eastern and more settled districts, and Penn and his colleagues the western unsettled lands, still in possession of the Indians. Financially, no doubt, Sir George Carteret got the best of it, but we can also well believe that Penn desired an empty land which he would fill with his own people who would come under a fresh constitution. West New Jersey, as it seems to have been called, was therefore his province, and he sat down to write a constitution.

We must imagine him doing this, not, however, at his first home at Rickmansworth, but at Worminghurst in Sussex, a house (now destroyed) standing on the South Downs, a few miles from the sea. Three children had been born and died at Rickmansworth, and the baby, Springett, was to live only till the dawn of manhood.* Hepworth Dixon surmises that Rickmansworth had become too much of a public resort for Friends, and too accessible

* H. M. Jenkins, "Family of William Penn," p. 56.

from London, to give Penn the quiet which he needed for thinking out the fundamental laws of a new province.

Penn had before him Harrington's "Oceana" and More's "Utopia," and of a more practical kind, the constitutions of the Puritan provinces in New England. Better than all, he had in the condition of England the terrible experience of all that a state should not be.

The principles of the constitution were the right of free worship, a democratic Assembly with manhood suffrage and vote by ballot, an executive responsible to the Assembly, trial by jury with the assistance of judges elected for not more than two years, and removable. This last feature was afterwards corrected in Pennsylvania. There was to be no imprisonment for debt, and the state was to undertake the education of orphans. This constitution was published by the trustees and circulated among Friends all over the country, with a description of the soil, air, climate and natural fertility of New Jersey. It differed, however, from speculative proceedings in that it concluded with the advice that "Whosoever had a desire to be concerned in this intended plantation should weigh the thing well before the Lord and not headily and rashly conclude on any such remove, and see that they did not offer violence to the tender love of their near kindred, but soberly and conscientiously endeavour to obtain their goodwill and the unity of Friends where they live." A colony manned by emigrants who left their homes in this spirit was likely to be a success, and during 1677 and 1678 five vessels, carrying eight hundred emigrants, sailed for West New Jersey. One company of Friends came from Yorkshire, another from London. These were the earliest voyagers, and they sailed in the ship *Kent* with two hundred and thirty on board. They reached Newcastle on the Delaware in the summer of 1677, where they found a few Swedish colonists. They went up the river, past the future site of Philadelphia, to Burlington, which they settled as the

principal town of the colony, the Yorkshiremen taking one side of the future main street and the Londoners the other. They purchased the land from the Indians. On this occasion they bought a tract extending for twenty miles on the Delaware river for the following articles:— 30 match-coats, 20 guns, 30 kettles, 1 great kettle, 30 pair of hose, 20 fathoms of duffels, 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hose, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair of tobacco tongs, 60 pair of scissors, 60 tinshaw looking-glasses, 120 awl-blades, 120 fish-hooks, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 Jews-harps, and 6 ankers of rum. In thus buying the land from the Indians Friends were following the excellent precedent which had been set them by the Dutch, to whom credit should be given for this.*

The Quaker colonists had not yet found out the ruin which strong spirits worked among the Indians, but they soon took measures to stop it. Nine or ten years after this voyage a meeting was held with the natives in order to prevent the sale of strong liquors to them. High chiefs were present, one of whom made the following speech:†

"The strong liquor was first sold us by the Dutch, and they are blind, they have no eyes, they did not see that it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were the Swedes, who continued the sale of the strong liquors to us; they were also blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we knew it to be hurtful to us; but if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear it. When we drink it, it makes us mad; we do not know what we do; we then abuse one another, we throw each other into the fire; seven score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it, since the time it was first sold us. These people that sell it have no eyes. But now there is a people come to live among

* "Quakers in the American Colonies," p. 367.

† Smith's "History of New Jersey," p. 100, quoted by Janney, p. 123.

us that have eyes, they see it be for our hurt, they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good. These people have eyes; we are glad such a people are come among us; we must put it down by mutual consent; the cask must be sealed up, it must be made fast, it must not leak by day or by night, in light or in the dark, and we give you these four belts of wampum, which we would have you lay up safe and keep by you, to be witnesses of this agreement; and we would have you tell your children, that these four belts of wampum are given you to be witnesses, betwixt us and you, of this agreement."

The colony prospered exceedingly. The arrangements of Lords Carteret and Berkeley had required each colonist to provide himself with musket, powder and balls, but the Friends were much more secure than guns could make them. They trusted to receive from the red men the same kindly and benevolent treatment which they gave, and their trust was not disappointed. Their first meetings were held at Burlington, under a sailcloth tent, until the earliest houses were built. By 1681, when William Penn was negotiating for Pennsylvania, fourteen hundred Quakers had settled in West New Jersey.

To continue the story of the Jerseys a little out of the order of time, it may here be noted that Sir George Carteret, who was a notable Restoration courtier and a friend of Pepys, died in 1679, and his widow had to sell East New Jersey to pay his debts. Penn was not slow to take the opportunity, and purchased the Eastern province with the help of eleven other Friends in February, 1681. These added another twelve to themselves as owners, including Robert Barclay and some of the Scotch nobility, who were not Friends. These twenty-four proprietors formed a Council of Proprietors, that for East Jersey being appointed in 1684 and for West Jersey in 1687. These formed a combined Council of Proprietors which, upon the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, handed the right of government to the Crown. They remained, however, as a body of landowners, and

such is the durability of property rights that this quaint and ancient body is still in existence, not having yet sold all their lands. New Jersey had three Quaker governors, and many of its magistrates and officials were always Friends. It still forms part of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The record of the Society and the Colony is one of increasing prosperity, lighted up by the romance of Elizabeth Haddon and consecrated by the saintly mission of John Woolman.

CHAPTER X

Holland and Germany

In 1677, Friends invaded Germany, and their peaceful force entered the country through Holland. The ablest Friends in Britain were in the party. A ship sailed from Harwich to Brill containing George Fox, Robert Barclay, William Penn, George Keith and several others. Isabel Yeamans, the daughter of Margaret Fox, was with them, doubtless to watch over George Fox's physical well-being, for he had suffered greatly in health from his recent long imprisonment at Worcester, and in his account of the journey he speaks of what we should now call neuralgia troubling him all night. There were already several Meetings of Friends in Holland and Germany; in Holland at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Alchmaar, Waterland and Haarligen, also in Friesland. There were also Friends at Hamburg, Lubeck, Friedrichstadt, and Embden, and in the far-away Palatinate and still more distant Dantzig, then in the kingdom of Poland. * The first object of the deputation was to organise a Yearly Meeting for the continent of Europe at Amsterdam, and Quarterly Meetings in the separate countries. Four Monthly Meetings were set up in Holland. It will be remembered that William Penn could speak both Dutch and German fluently, but although Robert Barclay and George Keith were, with William Penn, the most learned men in the Society,

* A monograph on the history of Friends in Holland, based on much original research, has been written by Prof. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

some of the party required an interpreter, whom they found among the Dutch Friends. This does not seem, however, to have interfered with the fervour of the meetings and the triumphant breakings forth of the Divine Glory which William Penn's account constantly mentions, such, for instance, as the following description of a meeting at Amsterdam which lasted from eleven on a Sunday morning till four in the afternoon :

" There was a mighty Concourse of People from several Places of this Country, and that of several Perswasions, Baptists, Presbyterians, Socinians, Seekers, etc., and God was with his People, and his Word of Life and Power, of Wisdom and Strength covered them ; yea, the hidden Things both of Esau and Jacob, the Mystery both of Iniquity and Godliness were opened and declared in the Demonstration of the Eternal Spirit that Day. And Oh ! Blessed and Magnified be the Name of the Lord that hath not only left Himself, but also not His Servants without a Witness ! Oh, He is worthy to be Lov'd and Fear'd and Obey'd and Reverenced for ever."

The deputation was indeed a powerful one. It is doubtful whether four such spiritual leaders of men and vehicles of the Divine Spirit as were then travelling together, aided by close fellowship with the persecuted groups whom they met, have ever worked together since. They were tireless in the holding of meetings. The captain, an old sailor of Admiral Penn's, allowed them to use the best accommodation on the boat for that purpose. Two meetings in a day were common, and intervals for meals were similarly utilised. At Rotterdam " The Gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living fed, and God, even our God, bore heavenly record to his only Son in us ; and Truth is honourable to the eyes of several in that Place."

The next day they separated and visited from house to house.

" All our visits were precious meetings, for indeed for that end God brought us into this land. Several of us dined and supped

that day at two great men's houses, where we had blessed opportunities to make known unto them what was the hope of our calling, that mystery which to the Gentiles is now revealed, even Christ Jesus, the Light and Life of the World manifested in us."

By Leyden and Haarlem they reached Amsterdam, and stayed at Gertrude Dirick's house. There they organised the Yearly Meeting and laid down procedure in a series of minutes which constituted the nucleus of a Book of Discipline. Here letters were received from the Friends at Dantzig, complaining of the heavy sufferings they underwent, informing them also that the King of Poland was there, and asking advice about a letter to him. So William Penn wrote a long letter to that monarch, who was none other than the great John Sobieski, urging him to cease the persecution of Friends, and reminding him with much tact " of a noble saying of one of thy ancestors, Stephen, King of Poland, ' I am King of men, not of consciences, King of bodies, not of souls.' "

The party separated, and William Penn, George Keith, and Robert Barclay went on to what must have been one of the most interesting experiences of their apostolic lives, a visit to the Princess Elisabeth Palatine at her little court at Herwerden in Westphalia. This remarkable lady was the daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and his wife Elisabeth, daughter of King James I. of England. She was the sister of Prince Rupert, the great rival and enemy of Admiral Penn, and sister also of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, who was the mother of George I. Her father's luckless assumption of the crown of Bohemia began the Thirty Years War in 1618, the year of her birth, and the defeat of the Protestants at the battle of Prague the next year drove the family in exile to the Hague, where they were brought up in relative poverty. She had resisted a marriage to the King of Poland, proposed to her by her uncle, Charles I., because she would not change her religion. She had been a

favourite pupil of Descartes, had never married, but had always been deeply interested in the things of the spirit, and in those who felt it their duty to abandon orthodox national worships. She told William Penn that God had reached her in 1668 at the age of fifty, and that by an extraordinary way. She had been to some extent attracted by De Labadie, of whom we have heard, who went under the name of Quaker, and Robert Barclay had already visited her to acquaint her with the life and testimony of Friends. Elisabeth cordially invited them to come to see her, writing a charming letter minimising what she had been able to do, and concluding, "But this a mere moral man can reach at. The true inward graces are yet wanting in your affectionate friend, Elisabeth." The three days which they spent with her must have been a very wonderful time. They met at seven o'clock in the morning, on a Friday, and stayed with her till eleven, apparently engaged in religious exercises most of the time. They declined her invitation to dine, but offered to come again in the afternoon. Two o'clock was fixed.

"It was at this Meeting that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The Eternal Word showed itself a Hammer at this Day; yea, sharper than a Two-edged Sword, dividing asunder between the Soul and the Spirit, the Joints and the Marrow. Yea, this Day was all Flesh humbled before the Lord; it amazed one, struck another, broke another: Yea, the Noble Arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the Weight and Work thereof bowed and tendered us also after an unusual and extraordinary Manner; that the Lord might work an Heavenly sign before them and among them; that the Majesty of Him that is risen among the poor Quakers might in some Measure be known unto them; what God it is we serve, and what Power it is we wait for and bow before. Yea, they had a Sense and a Discovery that Day, what would become of the Glory of all Flesh, when God shall enter into Judgment. Well, let my Right Hand forget its Cunning, and my Tongue cleave to the Roof of my Mouth, when I shall forget the Loving Kindness of the Lord,

and the sure Mercies of our God to us His Travelling Servants that Day. O Lord, send forth thy Light and thy Truth, that all Nations may behold thy Glory."

It was seven o'clock before they left. Next morning they went again between eight and nine, when William Penn had a meeting with the inferior servants of the house, who would have been " bashful " to have presented themselves before the Princess. At twelve they went back to the Inn, and had important conversations with strangers from Bremen, which resulted in a connection with that city and the spread of literature. At three in the afternoon, they returned to the Princess, who asked William Penn to fulfil a promise made in one of his letters to give them an account of his first convincement. After a period of silence he began, but it was supper time before he had half done, so, yielding to importunity, Friends stayed there to supper and afterwards resumed the narrative till about eleven at night. Yet many particulars were omitted " partly through forgetfulness and partly for want of time." A verbatim report of that stirring narrative would have been invaluable to a biographer.

On First day morning Friends had a private meeting alone in their chamber, and at two o'clock in the afternoon held a larger meeting with several townsmen present. After it the Princess took William Penn by the hand and would have spoken, but

" turning herself to the window, she brake forth in an extraordinary passion, saying, ' I cannot speak to you, my heart is full,' clapping her hands upon her breast. It melted me into a deep and calm tenderness, in which I was moved to minister a few words softly to her, and after some time of silence she recovered herself, and as I was taking my leave of her she interrupted me thus : ' Will ye not come here again ? ' "

She asked them to supper, but they appear to have felt a certain delicacy about her hospitality, asked to be excused, and just had a little refreshment in the room where they

were, and after a final farewell in the evening the party left their friends "in the love and peace of God, praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world." With the Princess there resided a Countess de Hornes, the Countess's sister, and a Frenchwoman, whose name William Penn does not seem to have remembered. Elisabeth died three years later, at the age of sixty-two, having done her part as a Princess and a mother to her little principality. She may fairly be counted a Friend, though there were no lists of members in her day. It was a remarkable thing that out of the degenerate race of the Stuarts two women should arise who accepted the Quaker testimony, one a Princess Palatine of the Rhine, the other a humble weaver at Wisbech, Jane Stuart, the natural daughter of James II. There is considerable correspondence extant between Friends and their Princess, long hortatory letters from George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay, and shorter replies full of modest aspiration after higher spiritual attainment. William Penn visited her again on his return northwards and held another series of fellowship meetings at her house. Doubtless to the Princess also and her friends these occasions were memorable. Robert Barclay, William Penn and George Keith were all young men in the neighbourhood of thirty years of age, to whom she could speak as a scholar to scholars, remarkable, all of them, in their personal dignity, showing in the nobility and beauty of their faces and carriage the strength of their inward life. Robert Barclay, through his mother, Catharine Gordon, was descended from the Stuart Kings, and was indeed third cousin to the Princess. He was the son of the famous Colonel David Barclay, who, in the Civil Wars, had held the northern half of Scotland for King and Covenant in 1648, and as a member of Oliver's Parliament in 1656 had strenuously opposed his taking the title of King.* Admiral Penn, also, was a name well-known to Prince Rupert's sister. George Keith was a mathe-

* "Jaffray and Friends in Scotland," p. 353.

matician of the University of Aberdeen, one of the inner circle of Quaker leaders at that time, and a man of great personal force. These must have been great days for the quiet little German court. It is now known as Herford, and is in the north-east corner of Westphalia.

Robert Barclay now returned to Amsterdam and to Scotland. His *Apology* had been published in Latin the year before, and was put into English by the author and published in England in 1678. How he managed to put in a journey of this kind between is one of the wonderful things concerning that marvellous man, who, at the age of twenty-eight, could produce his learned defence of Quakerism. He found it the inspired faith of peasants, and defended it in a book worthy to meet and shatter Calvin's *Institutes* in the theological schools of Europe.

William Penn and George Keith went on alone through many towns of the Rhine provinces, through Saxony, Hanover and the Hanseatic towns. Everywhere they found out the few who were like-minded to their mystical message, or who were known to be dissastisfied with the established Lutheranism. Sometimes these had been already nicknamed Quakers, a fact which throws curious light upon the extent to which, even in those days of slow communication, the fame of the followers of Fox had spread. Penn writes " There is a breathing, hungering, seeking people solitarily scattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath sent me, and I believe it is the like in other nations, and as the Lord hath laid it upon us, with my companions, to seek some of them out, so have we found several in divers places." They were mostly ladies of quality, with a few professional men. The common people in Germany at this time were practically serfs, and the men of the upper classes devoted to war, to be slain or slaying. One great town, Oldenburg, they found in ruins. Penn describes it as a great dark land ; this must have oppressed his spirit, particularly when he came to a dark Popish city. In

these they never attempted to stay. It would seem as though in Germany there was not, to any extent, a prepared soil for Quakerism as a popular movement. It seemed to require Puritanism, or some external acquaintance with religion, as the soil in which to grow its mystical plant. One of their most interesting visits was to Wiewart, the mansion-house of the family of the Somerdykes, where De Labadie's company now resided. They seem to have been a little company of scholarly men and women who lived retired from the world and had adopted silent worship, the preaching of women, spontaneous ministry, plainness in dress and furniture. Although William Penn describes them as being " somewhat in the mixture, ' he had a useful time with them, each telling the other of their religious experiences in true fellowship. They met George Fox again at Amsterdam, and after three days of a stormy and dangerous passage they reached England. William Penn spent a week on the business of Friends in London, and at last reached home after an absence of a hundred days, in much thankfulness to find his family well. " I had that evening a sweet meeting amongst them, in which God's blessed power made us truly glad together."

CHAPTER XI

High Politics

1678-1680.

We have followed the marvellous energy and untiring labour of William Penn in many spheres of activity. He drew in these years on a well-spring of force that never dried up. We have noted in calm record the strain which must have been his as conqueror of his own soul's freedom, in solitary opposition to his family, in prolonged and repeated imprisonments. We have seen him scorn delights and live laborious days, as scholar, preacher, writer on religion, ethics and politics, as controversialist, as missionary, building up Quakerism on the continent, tireless in the administration of the Society and the relief of sufferings. We must now follow him breathlessly into one more sphere of service. For some two years he was one of the leaders of an English political party.

The year 1678 began the crisis in our national history towards which the wretched misconduct and sordid misgovernment of Charles II. had been leading up. The Court had for seventeen years sheltered its incapacity behind the servile Pension Parliament, elected in a burst of Royalist enthusiasm in 1661, and managed of late years by Danby's systematic bribery. The gaols were full of Friends. It is stated that three hundred and fifty Friends had died in gaol since the King came back.* The Church

* Dr. Stoughton, referring to Neale's "History of the Puritans," Vol. II. John S. Rowntree gives 321 as the number who died in prison in Charles II.'s reign.

was at its lowest. The Government was in the pay of Louis XIV. and relied on a French army to put down an English revolt. There can have been few darker periods than this in all our history.

The political arena was triangular in shape, the straight issue between royal misgovernment and popular liberties was complicated by religious divisions. And of these there were three—the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, and the Nonconformist.

The Anglican Church had been restored to power with the Crown, and under its patronage and by Acts of Parliament which were responsible deeds of the government, had fiercely persecuted the Protestant Nonconformists. The clergy had been persecuted themselves under the Commonwealth, but the unfortunates who bore the brunt of their revenge were the innocent Friends, against whom both Anglican Priest and Nonconformist Professor wielded all the power they had. The Church had always been Tory, monarchical, established, and would have liked to continue to enjoy the Royal favour, exclusive privileges and the revenues that had once been Roman.

But all this appeared to be in danger of slipping away. Charles was secretly a Catholic. His wife, some of his mistresses, and his brother James, Duke of York, were openly of the same faith. And James was almost certain to be King if he survived his brother. He had recently married Mary of Modena, an Italian girl, and their son, if they had one, would continue the Catholic succession; and that might mean the restoration of positions and benefices, and much harm to souls and bodies. The reliance of the Court upon French subsidies, which was guessed at, legitimately caused profound uneasiness.

This Catholic turn of the Royal family brought them into an external sympathy with the Nonconformist cry for toleration. Friends had profited by the Act of

Indulgence of 1672, though it was intended for the Catholics' benefit.

In sympathy, however, Friends were with the old party of the Commonwealth men, now scattered and abased. The first Earl of Shaftesbury, the Anthony Ashley Cooper of the Commonwealth, an unprincipled, volatile politician, was the avowed champion of the Whigs and of Nonconformity; and that brilliant popinjay, the Duke of Buckingham, from time to time flattered himself that he had great influence with the Dissenters. William Penn frequently urged him to be of use to them, and he was for a while. But the true and only surviving leader of the men of the great period returned in 1677 from exile, in the person of Algernon Sidney.

Most truly, however, Friends belonged to none of the ruling parties of the past, but to the struggling party of the future, the brave and growing company to whom was committed the great cause of Religious Toleration, toleration for no sectarian advantage, but for itself, for human dignity and honesty, and for the peace and health of the State. The leader of that party was William Penn.

So that we are now to think of William Penn and Algernon Sidney as heads of the stalwarts on the Whig side, working loosely in alliance with Shaftesbury, and at times with such men as Sunderland and Halifax, when the wind blew these politicians in their direction. Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, was Sidney's nephew, the son of Dorothy Sidney, the Sacharissa of the poet Waller, and had been the comrade of William Penn in youthful days in France. He was to become in turn counsellor to James II. and to William III. and to invent Cabinet government. He was always of ramshackle morals, but acute in his intellect.

Algernon Sidney belonged to a famous and brilliant family, touching English history at many points already. He had carried nobly his sword and his counsel through the first Civil War. He had differed from Cromwell

and the army, when they decided to try the King for his life. He thought this hopelessly illegal and the King's execution practically unwise; when his advice was rejected he left public life and retired to Penshurst, the family home in Kent. He was one of the group of convinced Republicans who could not follow Cromwell into a Protectorate more than royal as well as less. He was abroad at the Restoration and was not allowed to come back for seventeen years. He refused to disown Republicanism, or to regret the past—though willing in practice to live under a monarchy which had been approved by Parliament. To maintain the integrity of his mind he chose poverty, home sickness, and apparently wasted years. He was allowed back in 1677, to his father's death bed. His name, his character, and his history, pointed him out as the leader of those who had not bowed the knee to Baal, and he decided to try to enter the next Parliament.

But before the Pension Parliament came to an end, William Penn had a notable service before it. Friends were suffering a penalty of £20 a month, worth not less than £100 now, or two thirds of their estates, for not attending church. A single fact like this shows not only the difference but the flaming contrast between Christ and the organised church of the day. Under it 'Many hundreds of families were threatened with daily spoil and ruin." Parliament had the intention of inserting a clause allowing Protestants to escape from a new Bill against Popery, by taking an appropriate oath. Friends could not take the oath, and were likely to enter upon a new baptism of particularly vicarious suffering. Through William Penn they presented petitions to the Lords and the Commons asking to be allowed to affirm. The House appointed a committee to consider the grievances of Protestant Nonconformists, and the extent to which they were suffering from penal laws intended for Roman Catholics. In March of 1678, this Committee heard

evidence from William Penn. Before it he made two speeches. He said that he had been "supposed a Papist, a seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome," and that Friends

"had been at the woolsacks, and common whipping stocks of the Kingdom. All laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform us, but destroy us, and that not for what we are, but for what we are not; 'tis hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment."

So far his line would be easily appreciated, but he went on to more startling doctrine.

"I would not be mistaken: I am far from thinking it fit that Papists should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists." "We do not mean that any should have a fresh aim at them . . . for we must give the liberty we ask . . . and persecution does not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the reason of mankind."*

The Committee reported in favour of a clause relieving Friends; it passed the Commons, but before it had passed the Lords Parliament was suddenly prorogued, and soon afterwards the Pension Parliament, the longest in English history, ended the seventeen years of its miserable life. An impeachment of the chief minister, Danby, was threatened. The charge of corruption would be easy to prove against him. But his unpopularity was due to another cause. Danby was an Anglican Tory, and hated the King to be in the pay of the Catholic Louis XIV. He had striven against the secret French connection, and Louis wanted him out of the way. Danby, rather than lose his place, had reluctantly written his master's begging letters to Louis through Montague, the English ambassador in Paris. These the ambassador on his return published in the House of Commons. To save Danby,

* "Works," Vol. I., p. 118-9.

that is to avoid further revelations of his own treason to his country, Charles prorogued Parliament in the autumn of 1678, and finally dissolved it in January, 1679.

William Penn would not take an oath himself, and so could not sit in Parliament, but he devoted himself to the election of Algernon Sidney.

The country was in the throes of panic. The " Popish Plot " of Titus Oates had been launched in August of 1678. It figures largely in every history of England, for it constitutes one of our national tragedies. Oates was an evil-looking man, whose forehead was so small and chin so large, that his mouth was exactly in the middle of his face ; out of it issued an affected and curious drawl. This criminal aspect was truth-telling. Oates had lost his orders in the Church of England for crime ; had become a Jesuit at Valladolid and St. Omer ; turned out thence he needed a new opening and issued a fabricated story of an organised attack by Papists on British Protestantism, supported by a French army. Its methods were murder and arson. The story was well filled with horrors, and enlarged and imitated by other seekers after profit. The fact, of course, was that there was a real Popish plot fixed up in 1670, by the two criminal kings, at Dover. There was a prevailing nervousness about Popery. We must remember that it was only seventy-three years since the Gunpowder Plot, of which the memory was kept alive by annual celebrations ; and that if the dynasty lapsed into Popery men might expect a repetition of the days of Bloody Mary. Some suspicious papers found belonging to a Jesuit, and the unexplained murder of the Justice who had heard Oates's testimony, were worked up in the true spirit of modern sensational newspapers. Both Penn and Sidney joined in the demand for investigation. Shaftesbury fed the plot from the Whig side with reckless avidity, " whether given to us by the right or the left hand of Providence." By so doing he ruined the cause of English liberty by harnessing it to a lie. He made

the further mistake of using the plot to try to exclude James from the throne in favour of the illegitimate Duke of Monmouth, a son of Charles's youthful exile period. From the Tory side Danby laboured to extend the excitement, and the country lost the guidance of reason. A terrible persecution of English Catholics took place, and lasted two or three years, till the balloon of Oates leaked itself flat by the summer of 1681: for nothing happened to the terrified nation all those three years.

Guildford was selected as the constituency for Algernon Sidney to contest. The election lasted three weeks. Drink and food were provided for the voters; violence and fraud were rampant. William Penn did not shrink from the unpleasant task of persuading Demos. He worked at persuasion in private and in public. The Recorder tried to silence him at the hustings; for the Court was interfering with all its force in the election. Paupers were brought out, soldiers were released if they would vote against Sidney. When he was finally elected the Recorder dared not report it, and dared rather to quash the election, on the ground that Sidney was not a freeman of the borough. He had offered to become one, but had been refused. A petition against this tyrannical interference with elections was actively promoted by William Penn. However the King found this Parliament so severely Protestant and so aggressive that he dissolved it before the petition had been heard. It sat from March to May, 1679. This, the first of three short Parliaments, had put Danby in the Tower, and passed the Habeas Corpus Act to stop illegal imprisonments. It had given the second reading to the first Exclusion Bill. It was to save his brother's succession that the King dissolved it.

After the dissolution of the first short Parliament, and in anxious preparation for the second, William Penn wrote an election address to the voters, called *England's Great Interest in the Choice of a New Parliament.* He points out the unheard of crisis the country was passing

through, in which everything depended upon the constancy, courage and honesty of the electorate. " To be plain with you: All is at Stake." The Plot must be tracked out and punished:—Evil counsellors (no doubt, Danby, Lauderdale and others) must be brought to justice; Pensioners of the former Parliament must be punished; Parliaments must be frequent and limited in duration; we must be secured from Popery and slavery, and Protestant Dissenters must be eased; and on these conditions, " the King should be eased on the business of his revenue." The essential rights of Englishmen, property in life, liberty or estate, legislative and executive power, and trial by Jury, should be restored. This can only come about by choosing the right men. The central political sin, bribery, is earnestly attacked.

" Such as give money to be chosen would get money by being chosen. They desire not to serve you, but to serve themselves of you: and then fare you well."

Drinking at elections is treated next.

" Must we always owe our Parliaments to rioting and drunkenness? and must men be made incapable of all choice before they choose their legislature? "

The electors were urged not to select as candidates, reputed pensioners, officers at the court, indigent or ambitious men or men about town, prodigal or voluptuous persons, but to choose men of industry and improvement, brave men, sincere Protestants. He believed with others that concealed Papists might be detected by their " laughing at the Plot, disgracing the evidence, admiring the Traitors' constancy." Thus is even a wise man to some extent a creature of his times. He finally begs the electors to lay to heart

" the grievous spoils and ruins their harmless neighbours (Friends) had suffered for twenty years. Sixty pounds have been distrained for twelve, two hundred pounds for sixty pounds. The flocks have been taken out of the fold, the herd from the stall;

not a cow left to give milk to the orphan, nor a bed for the widow to lie on; whole barns of corn swept away and not a penny returned."

He signed himself, and with good reason, "Philanglus." When the Parliament met he wrote them a longer tract, *One Project for the Good of England*, on the lines with which we are now familiar. The definite proposal in this book was a new Test, in lieu of the exclusively Anglican test now in vogue. This new Test would have barred out Roman Catholics. It was to be read out and subscribed by everybody in every town and village. In the height of the Plot that was as far as the great leader of Toleration himself could go. We have seen him in 1678 addressing a Parliamentary Committee in favour of toleration to Catholic opinion. He would not have them persecuted. But as potential traitors and oppressors he, like the best men then living, dreaded their entry into public affairs. The English fear of the Pope was at this time political rather than religious. The Church of Rome still aimed at the conversion and subjugation of England; and even Penn thought he could not afford to open the Government to its followers. That, he said, which produces a blind obedience in Religion will also produce a blind obedience in civil government.*

For the next election a little place called Bramber in Sussex, one of the pocket boroughs of 1832, was attempted by Sidney and his brother-in-arms. The local influence of both was strong thereabouts. To counteract the Sidney influence for Algernon, his brother Henry, the rake of the family, was brought up as his rival by their common nephew Sunderland. Henry was away on a Royal mission in Holland, and the disgrace of the affair was Sunderland's. Penn worked hard every day, and ran the election. The votes were equal, and the casting vote was given for Algernon. But when Parliament met the Court

* Works, Vol. II., p 69.

again had the return annulled. Such was democracy in those days; such was family faith; such was the power of the Court. Though elected in 1679, this, the second short Parliament, was perpetually prorogued, and only actually sat from October, 1680 to January, 1681.

We cannot here follow the political story of the next few years—the three Exclusion Bills, the collapse of the Plot, the final victory of the Court in 1682, supported by a large subsidy from France which made Charles independent of Parliament. The King and the Duke used their day of power to bring Algernon Sidney to the block. By that time, 1683, William Penn, despairing of English politics, was far away in Pennsylvania.

The feeling of hopeless misery over the state of England which filled the hearts of good men, and which has no parallel in our time, is expressed in unrestrained lamentation in the letter Penn wrote to the "Children of Light" i.e., to Friends, in the early days of the Plot, September, 1678. He had received from the Lord, repeatedly, with a fresh and strong life:

> "To thy tents, O Israel!
> To thy tents, O Israel!
> God is Thy tent: to thy God, O Israel!"

He said that through Friends the Heavenly Seed of righteousness must shine to others in these rough times, and make an end of the intolerable sins of the nation. "We are the people above all others that must stand in the gap, and pray for the putting away of the wrath, so as that this land may not be made an utter desolation; and God expects it at our hands." There is no shirking of political duty here, but the sense of call and responsibility that has been ours so often, and is ours to-day once more.

He concludes, with the kind of authority George Fox used: "I desire that this Epistle may be read in the fear of the Lord in your several meetings." The Epistle

does not contain any definite political guidance. It is an exhortation to faithfulness and trust in God.

By way of occupying his part in this high stewardship, William Penn wrote, in 1679, *An Address to Protestants upon the present Conjuncture.* It runs to one hundred large folio pages, or 90,000 words,* and it found great acceptance "from those who valued religion for the sake of piety, more than out of interest or formality," and a second edition was required in 1692. It is not unlike *No Cross, No Crown* in subject. Its appeal was for a moral reformation, and for Toleration as the solvent of religious discords. Of certain, "not of the lowest Quality," he said, "Strong Drink is often the beginning and top of their friendship,"† "From one of the cleanest people under the Heaven, I fear, we are become one of the most unchaste, at least in and about London. The French have sufficiently revenged themselves upon us by the loose manners they have brought amongst us."† "But they keep their wits in their debaucheries, we, overdoing it, lose them. Profaneness must pass for wit."† Fine dress "opens doors, gets access, obtains dispatches, carries away the cap and the knee from most other pretences."‡ William Penn on Luxury is always fine. He knew it from the inside and had rejected it. His appeal concerning the waste of the rich was always to the poverty of the poor. "The Book of Cookery, has outgrown the Bible, and is more in use. Twelve pennyworth of Flesh, with five shillings of cookery, may happen to make a fashionable dish."§ He goes on to swearing, gambling, and profanity. "A man is reputed of no sense or salt who cannot jeer devotion."‖ In reference to these sins, he exhorted the magistrates first to repent of them themselves, and then punish them in others. Historical examples of nations destroyed by vice are then given with great fulness out of the author's stores of

* "Works," Vol. I., pp. 721-821.

† p. 723. ‡ p. 725. § p. 727. ‖ p. 732.

learning. He urges our responsibility to hand over an undecayed nation to the future, and presses the need of education; and concludes Part I. with urging our responsibility to God. Part II. deals with ecclesiastical abuses—five in number—making opinions into articles of faith and the bond of Christian Society—mistaking the true faith—debasing the true value of morality—preferring authority to reason and truth—and propagating faith by force.* The tragic story of errors, generally known as Church history, supplied the eloquent author with ample material. He makes free and powerful use of the Scripture; and the treatise must have been as convincing to its readers as the truth of its positions deserved. Janney (pp. 142-147) has given a full summary of this typical Quaker utterance. It is, however, a book which now possesses only a historical and biographical interest. That the Society was able thus to make such a wise contribution to the consideration of the crisis is a cause for gladness and of gratitude to William Penn.

He had now tried every door that might have given him an opening to the help of England—had addressed Friends, Protestants electors, Parliament—had done the dirty work of two contested elections. But Friends were still suffering "spoil and ruin." Imprisonment unto death was still the lot of hundreds. During the autumn of 1680, Penn wrote three prefaces, signed by himself with others, to statistical records of sufferings, appealing to the Short Parliament then sitting to redress the grievances of Friends. From county to county went, like a band of locusts, idle, dissolute informers, making spoil for themselves of Friends' property. The accused were left by the Conventicle Act at the mercy of a single magistrate, and Elizabeth's Acts against Popish recusants were freely used against them.

The circumstances were such that the colony of Pennsylvania was due to be born.

* p. 744.

CHAPTER XII

The Charter of Pennsylvania

1680-1681

THE oppression of the early Stuarts had produced the Pilgrim Fathers and New England. The second and, I think, greater and longer oppression under Charles II. produced New Jersey and Pennsylvania. To its birth events conspired as in a romance.

Without William Penn's combination of resources and qualities the great experiment could not have been made. He possessed both the ear of the Court and, what was more to the point, a heavy financial claim on the King. He was also thoroughly interested and experienced as a coloniser, through his control in New Jersey.

His personal friendliness to his guardian, the Duke of York, and his known harmlessness and freedom from intrigue, made him acceptable at Court, even though so notoriously mixed up with the republican Sidney. No man feared double dealing or betrayal from him. So he had still many friends of title and influence at Whitehall; and he was himself a pleasant and attractive acquaintance for anybody to own.

The fortunate claim against the Crown left him by his father the Admiral, consisting of loans and arrears of pay, had mounted up with interest to £16,000. And there was no way of paying it. If the creditor would accept any number of square miles in the western wilderness instead of money, the King would be only too

glad. No doubt William Penn's open advocacy of political reform and of a republican candidate, (though no republican himself), had been undertaken with the knowledge that he was thereby jeopardising a large part of his fortune. For Charles did not stick at repudiation. In 1672 he did it on a large scale. But happily this risk did not materialise. In Penn's opinion, however, it would have done so, but for the offer to take it out in land in America.

The opponents of the Quaker migration were of a coarser, more terrestrial type than those heavenly powers who opposed the voyage of Aeneas to the Ausonian land in the West, but they were not on that account to be despised; and they caused much irritating delay. William Penn would never have got his charter but for the friendliness and support of the Duke of York, who stood by his promise to his dying colleague, the Admiral. So that Philadelphia after all owes its existence to that misguided man, King James II. It is the more creditable to James, in that William Penn had been engaged in a lawsuit against him on behalf of the colonists of New Jersey. We have seen that the whole American dominion, called formerly New Netherlands, had been handed over to James as his property; and from him the proprietors had bought New Jersey. The Duke endeavoured, however, after he had parted with the ownership, to continue a five per cent. import and export tax. Acting on an urgent request from the colonists, Penn had succeeded in the courts in getting rid of the tax, at the expense of his most influential friend. His powerful plea on their behalf is printed by Janney (pp. 160-2).

Penn's supporters, in his negotiations for a colonial charter, were the Earl of Sunderland, formerly his youthful friend Robert Spencer, Lord Hyde, Chief Justice North and the Earl of Halifax; no mean list of names, for Sunderland and Halifax were the chief politicians opposing the Exclusion Bill.

CANADA
Lake Ontario
NEW YORK
Lake Erie
Allegheny R.
W. Susquehannah
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehannah
R. Delaware
Hudson R.
VER-MONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
BOSTON
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTI-CUT
RHODE I.
NEW YORK
LONG I.
Pennsbury
R. Schuylkill
R. Susquehannah
PHILADELPHIA
Chester
NEW JERSEY
Burlington
Newcastle
Salem
Baltimore
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
R. Potomac
DELA-WARE
Delaware R.
Chesapeake
James R.
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
PENNSYLVANIA
& its
neighbouring States
0 50 100 Miles 200
J.F.H.

In June 1680 Penn petitioned the Committee of the Privy Council on Trade and Plantations—a sort of embryo Colonial Office—for a grant of "land, lying north of Maryland, bounded on the East by the Delaware river, on the west limited as Maryland, and to extend north as far as plantable." He was called in and explained that three degrees of latitude would satisfy him; and this was granted, from the fortieth to the forth-third parallel. But unfortunately for the Committee's geography, there were not three degrees between the colonies of New York and Maryland. This was the beginning of much trouble with Lord Baltimore. The territory was stated in the charter to cover five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. The territory as finally fixed was nearly three hundred miles from east to west and 160 miles from north to south; it covered 47,000 square miles, almost as large as England. The State of New Jersey occupies a peninsula running south from New York, and separated on the west from the mainland by the river and estuary of the Delaware. Westward across this dividing water lay the new territory. Its access to the sea was down the long river estuary.

The Committee was presided over by the drunken Duke of Albemarle, son of General George Monk. With him were Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who afterwards invited William of Orange over, and Secretary Jenkyns. Sir John Werden, acting for the Duke of York, was favourable, reserving the Duke's rights in what is now the State of Delaware. The agents of Lord Baltimore submitted that the southern boundary should be a line east and west drawn north of Susquehannah Fort. This Penn accepted. They also asked that no ammunition should be sold across this frontier to the Indians. Penn obligingly agreed to submit to any restrictions on that head that their lordships might impose. By November 18th, 1680, a draft grant was written out, and referred to the Attorney-General. By January, 1681, the boundaries

were supposed to be settled by Lord Chief Justice North. On February 1st came a demand from the Bishop of London that an Anglican chaplain, of his lordship's appointment, should be paid out of the state revenues on the request of a certain number, fixed at twenty, planters. Thus to saddle the Quaker colony with an established church, to begin with, may have been good business, but it was not good conduct. Bishops have often shone as negotiators.

The charter was signed by the King on 14th March, 1681. It is still kept, hung in the State House at Harrisburg, as the great treasure of the State. No book of the law and the testimony was ever more honoured. It is gorgeously emblazoned on strong parchment rolls.

The well known story of the naming of the Province is most simply given in William Penn's letter to his friend Robert Turner.

"5th of 1st mo., 1681.

"DEAR FRIEND :—My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear friends that love the Lord's precious truth in those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania ; *a name the King would give it in honour of my father.* I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for *a head*, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the *high or head woodlands* ; for I proposed, when the Secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added *Penn* to it ; and though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him ; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name ; for I feared lest it should be looked upon as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals.

" It is a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the truth. Thy true friend,

" Wm. Penn."

The Attorney General took care that all the royal rights were preserved, and the dependence of the colony upon the mother country assured. William Penn was made the owner of the whole territory, with right to appoint magistrates, hold courts, sell land. The proprietor and people had the right of legislation, which was to be subject to the approval of the King in Council. He might grant pardons, except for murder and treason, and these cases he might reprieve, pending a reference to the King. The royal privileges ran in Pennsylvania as in England. Parliament still controlled foreign commerce. The province was strictly limited to trading with England only. Goods, after lying in England something less than a year and paying customs, might be transhipped. The full right to levy taxes was reserved, with historical consequences of no mean moment. Certain appeals against the Colonial Courts might go to England.*

Thus was launched the great enterprise of this vigorous and devoted career. And yet, like most other great deeds, it arose, as we have seen, naturally and inevitably out of that man being in that place at that time.

The problem now—a difficulty never really solved, and inherent in the case—was how to build a free democracy on the foundation of an independent lord proprietorship of the soil, out of such powers as the landowner was, however gladly and graciously, willing to bestow.

Penn's life had now reached the beginning of its meridian period. The founding of a colony where there

* Enormously long Pennsylvania Papers in the State Paper Office record these transactions. They are also collected in Watson's " Annals of Pennsylvania."

might be freedom and peace, far from a wicked and worn-out world, was a task worthy of the greatest and happiest of mankind. And in the clouds of trouble that it brought him for the next thirty years, we see the hero suffering for the race.

There were already in the colony a few Swedes, sent out long before by Gustavus Adolphus, a few Dutch of an earlier date, and some Friends who had wandered across from New Jersey. It contained 2,000 people altogether, and there were three Swedish Churches and three Friends' Meeting Houses in the colony. To these residents William Penn issued a friendly, reassuring letter. He sent it out by a Deputy Governor, his young soldier-cousin, William Markham. He could hardly send a Friend, because in the matter of oaths and vain titles and in the matter of the use of force if needed, while Friends themselves had scruples, it might be necessary for some one to be ready to act, who did not share these testimonies. For the colony was not a free state, but a part of the British Empire. Markham saw Lord Baltimore at Upland on the Delaware, now Chester. They there found that the fortieth parallel of latitude, supposed to meet a circle drawn twelve miles round New Castle, a place much to the south of Chester, was really at least twelve miles north of Chester itself. There were, in fact, not three degrees of latitude available for Pennsylvania. It was clear that William Penn had better try to obtain from the Duke of York his settlements further down the Delaware on its western bank, now the State of Delaware. This was ultimately accomplished; and these districts, known as the Territories, became the centre of much controversy in Pennsylvanian history.

The boundary dispute was no small matter. Under Lord Baltimore's largest claim he would have included Philadelphia itself, and under Penn's largest, he would have included Baltimore.

CHAPTER XIII

The Colonists and the Frame of Government

1681-2

THE Founder's next task was to gather his colonists. He drew up his proposals in a prospectus of a somewhat unusual kind. It was necessary first to argue that colonies are good for the mother country. Many in that day thought that they drained off population and wealth. That is not a common heresy nowadays. The truth which now needs emphasis is that colonies may be equally profitable to us even if under the government of another nation, if there is an open door. Even if there is not an open door, the colonies of other nations are still greatly to our advantage, as contributors to international trade, in which we have a large share. Everything bought or sold anywhere has its reaction everywhere.

Penn was able to offer free government, excellent rivers and harbours, rich and varied forests and fisheries. The vast mineral wealth which has made Pennsylvania the greatest manufacturing state in America, he could not foresee.

He offered shares of 5,000 acres each for £100; or land at $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence per acre, or forty shillings per hundred acres, subject to a quit rent of a shilling per hundred acres, not to begin till 1684. On these quit rents he hoped to maintain the cost of government. Several people might join to take up a share. Those who could not afford

to buy land at all might rent up to two hundred acres at a penny an acre. Those who took over servants were to be allowed fifty acres at the same rent for each, and each labourer, when his time of service was expired, was to have fifty acres at a halfpenny per acre, to facilitate the extension of a peasant farming class. The rents here fixed were never to be raised. Those who could not pay their £6 for passage money paid double rent, to recoup those who provided it.*

The prospectus concluded by warning "my dear country folks who may be inclined to go into those parts" that some hardship would precede the advent of plenty; to have an eye to the Providence of God and if possible to come with the approval of their families. He "forebore allurement."

A copy of this prospectus Penn sent to his friends in America, with a letter saying that his Quakerism had prevented the repayment by the crown of its debt; but "perhaps this way of satisfaction has more of the hand of God in it than a direct payment." For "the matters of liberty and privilege I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and my successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

Further conditions and concessions laid down the native policy of the colony. In the first place all the land was rebought from the Indians. "It would be an ill argument to convert to Christianity, to expel, instead of purchasing them out of, those countries." All goods sold or exchanged with them were to be shown in open market to prevent frauds upon them. All wrongs done to Indians were to be treated as though done to a white man. All differences with Indians were to be settled by a jury of six from each race. (This was found impracticable). The Indians might settle anywhere they wished. The usual European treatment of the natives had been

* Letter to S. Hanson, Janney, p. 175.

cheating, oppression of every sort, slave labour in mines, the denial of all rights and chronic war. Penn writes to Robert Turner, 4th September, 1681 :

" I did refuse a great temptation last Second Day, which was £6,000 to a company to do the trade with the Indians from South to North, paying me 2½ per cent. rent, but I would not so defile what came to me clean."*

Much, too much, has been made by Hepworth Dixon of the share Algernon Sidney had in the constitution. The following letter, sadly interesting in itself, tells us all we know on that point :

TO ALGERNON SIDNEY.

13th October, 1681.

" There are many things make a man's life uneasy in the world, which are great abates to the pleasure of living, but scarcely one equal to that of the unkindness or injustice of friends.

" I have been asked by several since I came last to town, if Col. Sidney and I were fallen out, and when I denied it, and laughed at it, they told me I was mistaken, and to convince me, stated that he had used me very ill to several persons, if not companies, saying, I had a good country, but the basest laws in the world, not to be endured or lived under, and that the Turk was not more absolute than I. This made me remember the discourse we had together, at my house, about me drawing constitutions, not as proposals, but as if fixed to the hand. And that as my act, to which the rest were to comply if they would be concerned with me. But withal, I could not but call to mind, that the objections were presently complied with, both by my *verbal denial of all such constructions as the words might bear, as if they were imposed and not yet free for debate.* And, also, that I took my pen, and *immediately altered the terms*, so as they corresponded (and truly, I thought more properly) with thy objection and sense. Upon this thou didst draw a draft, as to the frame of government, gave it to me to read, and we discourst it with considerable argument ; it was afterwards called for back by thee to finish and polish ; and I suspended proceedings in the

* Janney, p. 176, abridged.

business ever since (that being to be done after other matters), instead of any further conference about it.

"I met with this sort of language in the mouths of several; I shall not believe it; 'twere not well in me to an enemy, less so to a friend; but if it be true, I shall be sorry we ever were so well acquainted, or that I have given so much occasion to them that hate us, to laugh at me for more true friendship and steady kindness than I have been guilty of to any man I know living. It becomes not my pretensions to the things of another life to be much in pain about the uncertainties of this; but be it as it will, I am yet worth a line; and I would pray one of the truth of the fact, for the injury it hath done me already is nothing to the trouble it will give me if I have deserved it; and if I have not, of losing a friend upon a mistake; not that I meanly creep for a friendship that is denied me; I were unfit for it then. I can but be where I was before, not less in myself or my own peace, which a steady virtue will make a sufficient comfort and sanctuary. Thy real friend, WM. PENN."

We know nothing of Sidney's reply.

Negro slavery was as yet an unchallenged institution. Its regulation and finally its abolition is the most glorious chapter in the story of American Quakerism. The dawn of the feeling for freedom, even for negroes, is found in the constitution of the Free Society of Traders, under Penn's patronage. Negroes were to be free after fourteen years; they were then to receive land, stock and tools and to pay two thirds of their crop to the Company. Not very much perhaps, but a beginning.

He could not go to the colony himself till the colonists had sold up in England, and could go with him. But in the autumn of 1681, he sent out Commissioners to lay out a great town on the Delaware.

They were to sound the rivers and creeks to find where deep water approached the shore, so that ships might load at the quay side; and if possible, the site was to be at the mouth of a good river. The town was to cover ten thousand acres. This is four miles square, the size of the London of William Penn's time. But it was not to

be built that way. It was to be "a green, country town;" with space round all the houses "for gardens and orchards, so that it will never be burnt and be always wholesome." Every purchaser of 5,000 acres was to be entitled to 100 acres of town lots. Penn's own residence was to be on the middle of the houses facing the Delaware, and to stand on 300 acres of land. A friendly letter to the Indians accompanied the Commissioners. From them, piece by piece, the land was bought: doubtless from the chiefs, in large pieces, for the Indians were nomad hunters, with no fixed abode. The commissioners fixed the site of Philadelphia just above the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, with a front on each parallel river.

He was not left wholly free, during these months of pressure, to think of nothing but his new land of promise. There was faction among Friends from a few fanatics of pure liberty, who objected to all organisation; there was a harsh persecution going on at Bristol. Both these required his intervention. He was nearly imprisoned himself in the midst of his great affairs. But the power and solemnity of his preaching and that of George Fox at Gracechurch Street so overcame the informer and the constable, that the former slunk away and the latter then felt free to drop the business. Life was an unflagging adventure with these men.

Penn's mother died at the beginning of 1682. It affected him so that for many days he could not bear the light, and lay ill for some time.

His principal task was in making the famous Frame of Government for Pennsylvania, the model of later American constitutions and the basis of the great Federal Constitution of 1776. It was finished by April, 1682, and had a Preface of great interest. The author deduces from Scripture the justification for government, and proceeds:—

"So that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end; for if it does not directly

and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.

"To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy; where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted; then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of Pennsylvania. Amen.

"WILLIAM PENN."

The Frame of Government, which was signed in England, May 6th, 1682, by the Governor and freemen before they sailed,* may be summarised thus: There was to be a Council of seventy-two persons elected by the freemen of the Province, one third to retire each year. The governor or his deputy presided and had a treble vote. This was the only legislative privilege the Governor retained. The Governor and Council prepared and thrashed out all bills, and presented them to the Assembly, who passed or rejected them. Before this final vote, however, eight days of consideration and conference with a committee of the Council, for the amendment of bills, might intervene if desired. The idea was to leave the preparation of detail to a smaller body of experts, and the final decision on principles to the democracy. The Assembly was not to exceed 200; and was elected annually by ballot. The Governor and Council managed finance, police, appeals, education, and the encouragement of science and invention.

For the first year, the Assembly was to consist of all the freemen of the province. And, as a temporary measure, William Penn was to appoint the first judges and executive officers. Afterwards the Governor and Council were to appoint them. Not only landholders, but every taxpayer could vote. There was to be no taxation but by law, litigants might plead their own causes, trials were by jury; no oaths were required, so that Quaker bugbear

* Janney, p. 190.

was thought to be got rid of ; all fines were to be moderate. Friends' experience of gaols qualified them for penal legislation. All prisons were to be workshops and reformatory in character. Felons were to restore double to those they had wronged, or in default to labour till the damage was repaired. Slanderers were to be accounted enemies of the public peace. The penalty of death was reserved for wilful murder and treason.

All children of twelve were to be taught some useful trade.

Members of the Council and Assembly and all judges were to profess faith in Christianity, and not to be convicted of " unsober or dishonest conversation."

Persons who believed in God were not to be molested or compelled to any form of religious worship.

This large measure of toleration may be criticised as not absolute ; but it was a wonderful thing in those days. It will be observed that Catholics under this Frame could hold any office.

" According to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the creation " there was to be no common daily labour on Sundays. It will be observed that the Quakers from the beginning based nothing on the Jewish Sabbath, and so escaped much Puritan error. But the punitive function of government was carried in other ways far in the Puritan direction. All offences against God, such as swearing, cursing, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, drinking healths, selling rum to Indians, all felonies, murders, duels, and all stage-plays, cards, vice, and gambling, to be severely punished according to the appointment of the governor and freemen in provincial council and general assembly. The sandwiching of murder in between lying and card playing is very quaint. Alas ! no penal code has yet found itself able to deal effectually with lying.

But, with this exception, how large and how modern the whole scheme is. At that date English law punished

200 offences with death, and was correspondingly savage all through. Penn, before his time, and knowing Newgate, looked to the reformation of the criminal in whose poor personality the light of God was potential, even if clouded.

Indeed, the whole code with its reverence for humanity as such, was the expression of Quakerism in government. That this Frame of Government may justly be claimed as the political outcome of the Quaker faith is confirmed by comparing it with the constitution of the Carolinas. This document was compiled by the renowned thinker John Locke, the political philosopher of the Revolution, and a man of the highest character. He had been at Christchurch with William Penn, and the two men were always friends. They were liberal thinkers, Fellows of the Royal Society, and sincerely devout. But towards democracy, towards poor humanity, they had evidently opposite thoughts. Out of his belief in the Indwelling God, and his experience of suffering, of the heroism of common people, and the sins of the great, the Quaker had come to trust a free people. Out of his academic seclusion, and his assured position among superior persons, Locke had concluded that aristocracy was better. His constitution was much the more admired at the time; it belonged to that age, and with that age it perished. With all its provisions for eternal fixity it failed at once. The flexible constitution of William Penn is that of the most progressive states to-day, and will be even more closely followed to-morrow. The following is Hepworth Dixon's summary of the constitution of the Carolinas.*

"1. The Province, which was larger than Great Britain, was held by eight proprietors. These men were to be absolute monarchs, with hereditary succession. If a line of descent became extinct, the other seven elected a new eighth by co-optation; the eldest proprietor for the time being was called the Palatine,

* "Historical Biography," pp. 234-6.

and drew a large salary as Sovereign of the whole; the others were respectively Admiral, Chancellor, Chamberlain, Constable, Chief Justice, High Steward and Treasurer. One fifth of the whole land was to be in the hands of these eight, inalienably for ever.

"2. A second fifth was appropriated to a hereditary nobility. Of those also there was to be a fixed number for ever, one earl and two barons for every 480,000 acres. Their estates were neither to accumulate nor diminish, and if a line failed it was to be recruited entirely from the privileged classes.

"3. Under these were tenants, or small proprietors, who held ten acres each at a rent. These men had in no case right of appeal from their lord's decisions; they could not remove without a licence; and 'the children of leetmen shall be leetmen, and so to all generations.'

"4. Below there these were negro slaves, over whom every freeman had the power of life and death.

"The executive powers were vested, as divided above, in 'The Eight.' The judicial system consisted of seven courts, in each of which one of the eight presided. Of the other magistrates, who were called Counsellors, two-thirds were appointed by the proprietors and nobles. Trial by jury was practically abolished. One court controlled the press, another ruled fashions and sport.

"The Legislature consisted of a Grand Council of fifty; of whom fourteen nominally represented the people, but they were chosen for life. Freeholders who held fifty acres had a vote; but members of the Council must not possess less than five hundred.

"The Church of England was maintained by the State, but there was, of course, in the handiwork of the adviser of the Declaration of Indulgence and the author of the Essay on Toleration, to be no religious persecution.

"I do not know and cannot guess, which part of this Constitution broke down first; it is now brought by the antiquary from under the dust of two centuries as a curious proof that the most enlightened exponents of the Revolution dare not give full citizenship to the mass of the nation. By the side of this masterpiece of the seventeenth century, we can forgive the quarrels of Penn's democracy."

Clarkson relates an anecdote greatly to Locke's credit. Sir Isaac Newton, Locke, Penn, and others were in company, and the conversation turned upon the comparative excellence of the new American Governments, especially Carolina and Pennsylvania. The matter was argued at length in the presence of the two legislators, and Locke ingenuously yielded the palm to Penn. I consider this a triumph of the philosophic temper.

William Penn's wife and children were to be left at Worminghurst, till a safe home could be found for them in the west. For Guli's health was not strong. She had had six children, of whom three survived, the eldest seven years old.* We have few words of Guli Penn's left to us. She was not a writer, perhaps not a preacher. She was a lovely and devoted wife, and found her work at home. The hours and habits at Worminghurst were those of people whose life was in religion and in service. In summer they rose at five, in winter at seven, in spring and autumn at six: a real daylight-saving arrangement. They had breakfast at nine, dinner at twelve, supper at seven and to bed at ten. They assembled with the servants for worship in the morning; and at eleven, to make a recess in the work of the forenoon they met again for reading the Bible and other religious books. At six in the evening, they met for evening worship. Truly, these people were in earnest. After supper the servants reported on what they had done, and received orders for the next day. "Loud discourse and troublesome noise" were very properly forbidden. All quarrels were to be made up before bed time.†

By the autumn the Governor was ready to go to his Province. He intended finally to settle there, and it would have been greatly to his happiness and the colony's if that could have been carried out. But such a voyage

* Howard M. Jenkins, "Family of William Penn," p. 56.

† Clarkson.

was encompassed with dangers. He was going unarmed among savages, in a wild unknown country, exposed to the risks of disease. hardship or shipwreck. Men in those days composed their affairs before such a voyage, from which return was uncertain. His family he might never see again. He wrote them, out of the fulness of his heart, this paternal epistle. It is self-revealing and of high biographical value.

" My Dear Wife and Children :—My love, which neither sea nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen towards you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever ; and may the God of my life watch over you and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever !—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

" My dear wife ! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life ; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy of all my earthly comforts : and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making ; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

" First : Let the fear of the Lord, and a zeal and love to his glory, dwell richly in thy heart ; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed : else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

" Secondly : Be diligent in meetings for worship and business ; stir up thyself and others therein ; it is thy duty and place ; and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves : and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular : it is easy and sweet : thy retirement will afford thee to do it ; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and

fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order ; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be : and grieve not thyself with careless servants ; they will disorder thee ; rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonition : this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul and offend the Lord.

" Thirdly : Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to : by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass : and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid ; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's public-spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case). I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world—a nobility natural to thee. I write, not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein ; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father's, ' I desire not riches, but to owe nothing ' ; and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so ; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition : but I pray thee be often in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arms'-end ; for it is giving away our power—ay, and self too, into the possession of another ; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning, may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and Friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

" Fourthly : And now my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children ; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things, endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy, plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour ; yet I love sweetness, mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour—an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

"Fifthly: next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved: but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my eye: let my children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example: like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany and the nobles of that empire that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing: but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need not wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to

breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (says the wise man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age, gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

"And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

"In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel, in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah, because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear and serve him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may grow like to him and glorify him in your generations!

"To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

"Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. Oh that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the

world; redeeming the time because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live! What would some give for your time. Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.—Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

"Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding—qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore, honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother and your father's love and delight; nay, love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse, too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

"Next: betake yourself to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

"And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

"Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord give you any. I charge you to

help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that 'he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.'

"Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world; use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

"Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand to help them: it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

"Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, but then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

"Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly Father.

"In making friends, consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

"Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

"Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise; their praise is costly; designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourself most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who, asking the Lord, 'Who shall abide in Thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?' answers, 'He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eye the vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them who fear the Lord.'

"Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornament, remembering life is more than food,

and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice and luxury. Read my 'No Cross, No Crown.' There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety, and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any—no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

"Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folks' matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

"In your families, remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

"Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things as becometh God's chosen people; and I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

"And as for you who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent and tender, fearing God, loving the people and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no men against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live, therefore, the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

"Oh! the Lord is a strange God, and he can do whatsoever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up and

pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, 'He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time will make his enemies be at peace with him.'

"If you thus behave yourselves and so become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hands for the settlement of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desireth above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

"Finally, my children, love one another with a true, endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's laws, that so they may not, like the forgetting, unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you, and yours after you, may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

"So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just—that celestial family—praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of the Prophets, the Apostles and Martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

"So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!—Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Worminghurst, fourth of sixth month, 1682."

He embarked at Deal in the *Welcome*, a vessel of 300 tons burden, and carrying 100 colonists, mostly Friends from the south of England, with all their movable chattels, and after a voyage of about two months entered

calm water through the capes of the Delaware. This was not considered a bad voyage; but unfortunately small-pox had been taken on board at Deal, and in a space too confined for isolation or proper nursing, it ravaged the company, and about thirty bodies were laid in the ocean on that terrible voyage. Penn was very active in his solicitous care of the sick, and they held many good meetings on board.

CHAPTER XIV

In Pennsylvania

1682-4.

THE years whose story is told in this chapter and the next form the climacteric of our hero's life. The two years abroad must have been to him years of active and hopeful labour, of release and of triumph. He was still under forty and full of the joy of life. Hitherto he had always fought uphill. Principalities and powers had been too strong, and spiritual wickedness in high places had baffled him. Ever for Friends the gaol and its diseases and deaths, the whipping post and stocks, the ruinous fines, the neglected petitions to Parliament, the Conventicle Acts, and the oath. Puritanism had relied on the sword, and when that broke in its hand, the Church took her revenge for Marston Moor on the innocent but troublesome Quakers. But here in the forest, breathing the stimulating ozone of the American atmosphere, himself actually owner and lawgiver over thousands of square miles of habitable country nearly as large as England, with no established Church, no tradition of servility, with no paupers and no peers, no fear of Pope or Bishop, surrounded by congenial liberated Friends, building a city of Brotherly Love, beginning a new era for mankind—what reformer has tasted such joy as this ?

The *Welcome* arrived before New Castle on 27th October, 1682. This town was on the Duke of York's territories, the modern State of Delaware. Penn produced his deeds and received from the mayor of the

little settlement "turf and twig and water and soil." He renewed all the existing commissions and explained the nature of the free government he was about to establish. He went on to Upland, only a small village, but the principal place in the colony. He renamed it Chester; it is now the capital of Chester county. He returned to New Castle, held a miniature "court" and made the people a business-like and reassuring speech. Thence up the Delaware to the site of Philadelphia he went in an open barge, surveying at leisure the forests, the wildfowl, and the beauty of the great river, now narrowing from its estuary to the width of a mile at Philadelphia. Four miles above the mouth of the tributary Schuylkill they reached the site chosen for the city. Here, too, there were Swedes and Dutch to welcome him, and here doubtless came many Indian canoes, full of tall athletes in fur robes and with waving feathers, to whom at last an Englishman was bringing a steadfast purpose of alliance and peace. Would he be like the friendly letters he had written? Did he too refer to the Universal Spirit all things that happened to men? Mrs. Preston, a lady present who lived to be 100 years old, told how

"The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition, William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all! We are not prepared to credit such light gaiety in a sage governor and religious chief; but we have the positive assertion of a woman of truth, who says she saw it. There may have been very wise policy in the measure as an act of conciliation, worth more than a regiment of sharpshooters. He was then sufficiently young for any agility, and we remember that one of the old journalists among the Friends incidentally speaks of

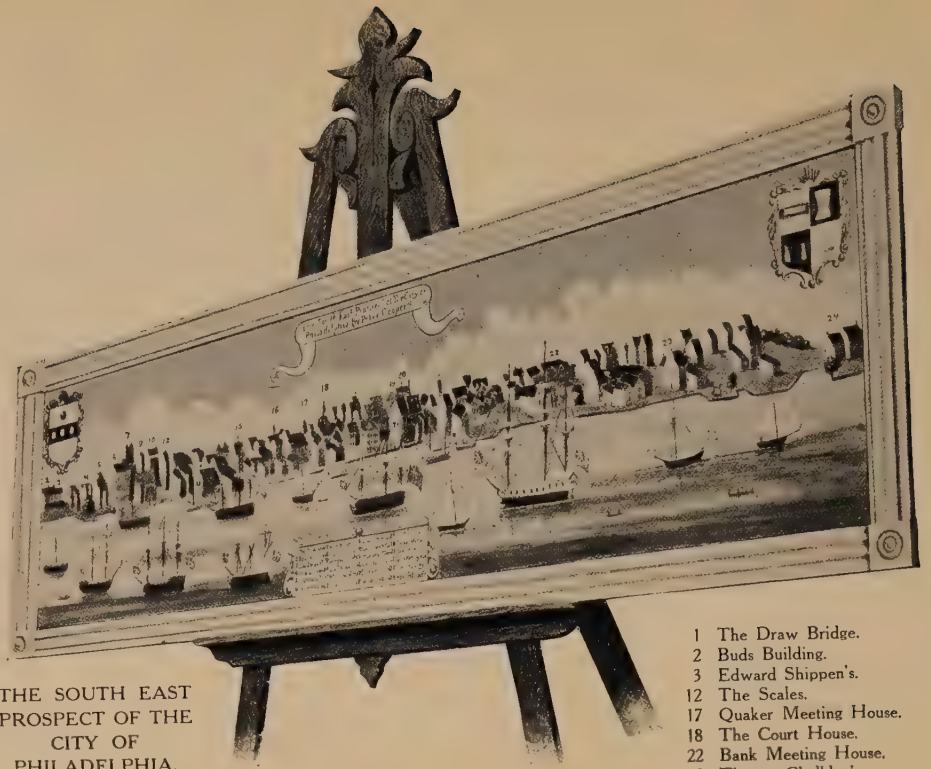
him as having naturally an excess of levity of spirit for a grave minister."*

The plan of the city, the model of innumerable American cities, was a system of uniform parallel streets, and another system, named in a different way, intersected them at right angles. The parallel rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill ran north and south. They were joined by a wide central avenue called High Street, running east and west. About midway this was intersected by a north and south thoroughfare called Broad Street parallel to the rivers. The streets parallel to it were numbered, beginning from the Delaware, Front Street, First, Second, Third Street, and so on—all numbered except Broad Street itself. Parallel to High Street the streets were mostly named after trees :—but there is Race Street, and Arch Street, besides Cherry, Spruce, Pine, Filbert, Walnut, Mulberry, and others of later date. Where Broad and High cross was the Central Square ; now occupied by the City Hall, a vast but not beautiful building with a great statue of William Penn on the top of its dome.† In the centre of each of the four quarters of the city a square open space was and is reserved. Penn was induced to diminish his city limits from the earlier proposal of four miles each way. They were fixed at two miles across from Delaware to Schuylkill, and one mile frontage on each river. The city and suburbs have long outgrown them, and Penn's earlier boundaries would now have been a convenience. The "green country town" has not materialised. Philadelphia is built up closely as other great cities. Not even the Founder was strong enough to stand against the power of land values. The open promenade by the Delaware has also been choked by riverside buildings. There was always something very English about the Philadelphians.

About November of this year took place the famous

* Janney.

† Depicted on the cover of this book.



THE SOUTH EAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1718.

1 The Draw Bridge.
2 Buds Building.
3 Edward Shippen's.
12 The Scales.
17 Quaker Meeting House.
18 The Court House.
22 Bank Meeting House.
23 Thomas Chalkley's.
24 Penny Post House.

After the painting by Peter Cooper, in the Philadelphia Library.

Treaty of friendship with the Indians. It was made at Shackamaxon (then Sachamaxing the " place of Kings "), under a great elm tree. It was an ancient place of treaties among the red men, and Markham had already used it as the place to buy the land for the Governor's mansion, called Pennsbury, some thirty miles up the river. It was therefore tactfully selected by Penn for the place of the great treaty. It is now in Kensington, a suburb of Philadelphia. The old tree was blown down in 1810. One of its children has taken its place and there is also a monument. The well known picture by Benjamin West does great wrong to William Penn's appearance. He was not a stout old gentleman, but a man of thirty-eight, dignified and graceful beyond most men. Mrs. Preston, who was there, called him the handsomest, liveliest, and best looking gentleman she had ever seen.

The half circle of solemnly seated Indians, the elders in front, the young behind, women as well as men, for West is right about the tied up baby, Taminent with his chaplet and horn of power, already an honoured friend of the Governor's, sitting in front with his councillors, the ground covered with the leaves of the Fall season, the lofty branches above, the council fire in the centre, and in front the broad river with here and there a log house building in the forest—on this impressive scene arrives William Penn in his barge with sail and oarsmen, and his leading associates, and begins his speech :

" The Great Spirit," he says, " who made me and you, who rules the heavens and the earth, and who knows the innermost thoughts of men, knows that I and my friends have a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with you, and to serve you to the utmost of our power. It is not our custom to use hostile weapons against our fellow creatures, for which reason we have come unarmed. Our object is not to do injury, and thus provoke the great Spirit, but to do good.

" We are met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all

to be openness, brotherhood and love." Here the governor unrolls a parchment containing stipulations for trade and promises of friendship, which, by means of an interpreter, he explains to them, article by article, and placing it on the ground, he observes that the ground shall be common to both people. He then proceeds, "I will not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call you children or brothers only; for parents are apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes will differ; neither will I compare the friendship between us to a chain, for the rain may rust it, or a tree may fall and break it; but I will consider you as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts."

Solemnly the Indian orator replies, takes William Penn by the hand, and accepts the proffered league of goodwill. The written record of the Treaty is not known to survive, but it was quoted to the same Indians by Governor Gordon in 1728, in the following form:

"*My friends and brethren:*—You are sensible that the great William Penn, the father of this country, when he first brought the people with him over the broad seas, took all the Indians, the old inhabitants, by the hand, and because he found them to be a sincere, honest people, he took them to his heart, and loved them as his own. He then made a strong league and chain of friendship with them, by which it was agreed that the Indians and the English, with all the Christians, should be as one people. Your friend and father, William Penn, still retained a warm affection for all the Indians, and strictly commanded those whom he sent to govern this people, to treat the Indians as his children, and continued in this love for them until his death." . . .

"I have now to discourse with my brethren the Conestogoes, Delawares, Ganawese, and Shawnese Indians upon the Susquehanna, and to speak to them.

"My brethren:—You have been faithful to your leagues with us, your hearts have been clean, and you have preserved the chain from spots of rust, or if there were any, you have been careful to wipe them away; your leagues with your father, William Penn, and with his governors, are in writing on record, that our children and our children's children may have them

in everlasting remembrance. And we will that you preserve the memory of those things among you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generation, so that they remain stamped on your minds never to be forgot.

" The chief heads or strongest links of this chain, I find, are these nine, viz. :

" 1st. That all Wm. Penn's people or Christians, and all the Indians, should be brothers, as the children of one Father, joined together as with one heart, one head and one body.

" 2d. That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

" 3d. That the doors of the Christians' houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

" 4th. That the Christians should not believe any false rumours or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumours or reports of Christians, but should first come as brethren to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false reports of their brethren, they should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

" 5th. That if the Christians heard any ill news, that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians heard any such ill news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

" 6th. That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians, but each treat the other as brethren.

" 7th. But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right may be done; and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in a bottomless pit.

" 8th. That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indians, against all wicked people that would disturb them.

" 9th. And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean, without

rust or spot, between our children and children's children, while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

This Treaty still stands out from other treaties, because it was kept. It was the foundation of the most successful treatment of aborigines that history records. No drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian. No breach of the peace occurred for over seventy years, till the war party and the church party at home succeeded in dispossessing the Quaker government of the colony. Then Indian wars began.

Heckewelder the Moravian missionary, in his history of the Indian nations says :

" They frequently assembled together in the woods, in some shady spot, as nearly as possible similar to those where they used to meet their brother *Miquon*,* and there lay all his words and speeches, with those of his descendants, on a blanket or clean piece of bark, and with great satisfaction go successively over the whole. This practice, which I have repeatedly witnessed, continued until the year 1780, when the disturbances which took place put an end to it, probably for ever."

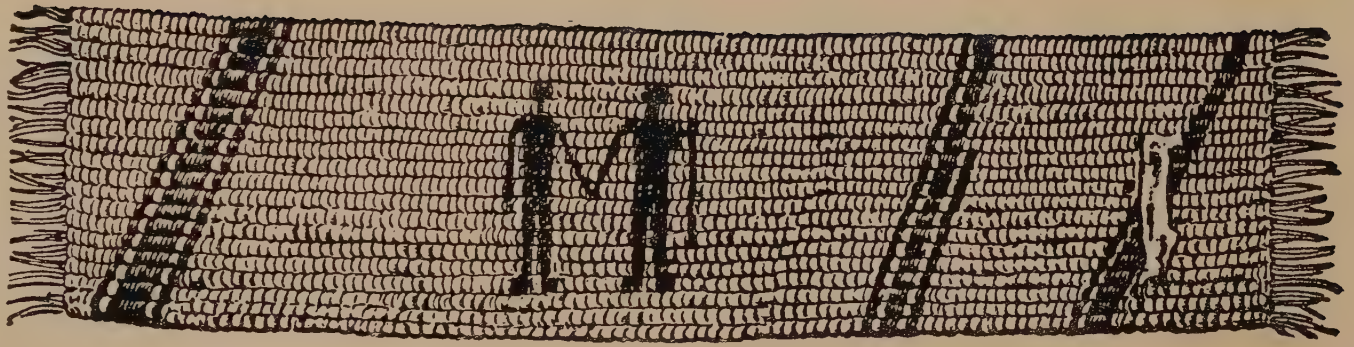
Janney wrote in 1850 (p. 219) :

" The red man, unable to cope with the grasping, aspiring Anglo-Saxon, was driven from his old hunting grounds, and taking his course to the far north-west, he bade adieu, with an aching heart, to the graves of his fathers. But still he has not forgotten the '*great treaty*,' and among the scattered remnants of those once powerful tribes, now seated by the clear lakes of Canada, or wandering on the banks of the turbid Missouri, the name of the great and good Onas continues to be held in grateful remembrance."

The Indian policy of the Founder of Pennsylvania was a monotonous triumph of Christian and humanitarian fellowship. Part of the purpose of the Colony was " to reduce the savage nations by just and gentle manners to the love of civil society and the Christian religion."

* The Delaware Indians' name for Penn. The Iroquois word Onas was the one generally used. They both mean a quill or pen.

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.
After the painting by Benjamin West, P.R.A.
(The figures to Penn's left are portraits. See note, page 327.)



INDIAN WAMPUM BELT CELEBRATING THE TREATY MADE WITH WILLIAM PENN.

(See note page 3.)

This was carried out; and met with the friendliest response. Unarmed the colonists lived in peace and friendship with the Five Nations. A company was formed of high-minded men to do the trade with the Indians, to avoid selling them drink, and to show them "examples of probity and candour." So long as Friends held control, the Indians responded. In 1721, the chief Indian speaker told Sir William Keith that they would never forget the counsel William Penn gave them, but would carefully hand it down though they could not write. Similar speeches were made at Conferences in 1722, 1742, 1749 and 1756—and later dates; and the link between the Friends and Indians has remained bright and clear to our own day. The daring idealists win all along the line. Those who, though with excellent intentions, armed themselves for security, on the principle of getting peace by preparing for war, such as the men of Maryland, produced a long story of bloodshed and chronic insecurity. On the other hand Benezet, a Quaker schoolmaster of Philadelphia, tells us that one body of Indians actually adopted the Quaker view of war. There were, however, practically no conversions to Christianity.

The first Provincial Assembly met at Chester on December 4th. The members for the lower counties of the Delaware petitioned for incorporation in Pennsylvania—which was granted, and all foreigners were naturalised at once. The Swedes recorded "that this was the best day they ever saw." The Council was reduced to eighteen and the Assembly to fifty-four, "on account of the fewness of the inhabitants, their inability in estate, and unskilfulness in matters of government." The Assembly revised and extended and passed the "Great Law," hitherto embodied in the Charter, and separated after four days, having made a rule against "superfluous and tedious speeches."

The Governor then visited Lord Baltimore, but did not settle boundaries. Each had excellent evidence for his

case, Baltimore his charter, Penn the King's instructions. Unluckily they clashed. This was nothing unusual. The charters of both the Carolinas included the city of New York, and Connecticut extended to the Pacific Ocean.* Another trouble was that when Lord Baltimore got his charter in 1632 a degree was counted sixty miles, whereas it was now found to be seventy; so that Maryland's two degrees encroached on Pennsylvania by that much more than was intended at first.†

By the end of 1682, twenty-three ships full of immigrants had sailed up the Delaware, carrying about 2,000 people to Philadelphia. The early settlers were nearly all Friends, from all parts of England; but from Wales came pretty nearly all the Quakerism there was in the principality, then severely persecuted. Welsh names and some Celtic excitability prevailed among Philadelphia Friends for many generations. The persecuted sects on the Rhine, who knew William Penn's character from his visits to Holland and Germany, formed a company and sent Francis Daniel Pastorius to select for them a solid block of 15,000 acres. This is now Germantown, a distant northern suburb of Philadelphia. They formed a stalwart and valuable element in the population. In times of trouble with the Government or with the later generations of the Penn family, Friends could always rely upon the support of the Germans. The immigrants sheltered in dug-outs on the river bank while the houses were being built. By the summer of 1683 Penn wrote to Henry Sidney that eighty houses were built in the city, and 300 farms settled in the neighbourhood. Fifty ships had arrived by that time, and 4,000 immigrants. There was no hardship to speak of, as in the early days of Massachusetts. The early letters are full of accounts of abundance and exhilaration. The settlers came

* Hepworth Dixon, "Historical Biography," p. 244n.

† Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," i. 268.

well provided. A mill was brought over in parts, and many frame houses. William Penn brought the wood carvings and panelling for his manor house at Pennsbury. The Indians readily sold the fruits of their hunting, and were eagerly friendly. We must not think of the great modern state of Pennsylvania as the sphere of the activities of the early founders. It was only a small piece at the south eastern corner of the State, thirty or forty miles up the Delaware from the capital, and as much westward. Here are Bucks County and Chester County, settled thick with Quaker farms, with large Meeting Houses every five or six miles.

The land was generally bought from the Indians by the measure of what a man could walk in a day. About twenty miles was intended. The Governor did some of these walks with the Indians himself.

The Assembly and the Council met again in January at Philadelphia ; and decided on a new Charter with the consent of the Governor. It included a few amendments, and deprived the Governor of his threefold vote. The Assembly granted the governor for his services and expenses a tax on certain imports and exports. He declined it for the present as the colony was poor. In after days he had reason to regret this generosity. Three arbitrators were chosen by each county court to prevent lawsuits ; and an orphans' court was held in each county twice a year, to protect the interests of widows and orphans. Penn describes everything done in the Assembly as rapid and harmonious. Belief in witches was one of the curses of New England. But the only trial for witchcraft which ever arose in Pennsylvania occurred in 1683. It was due to the Swedes. But a jury happily dismissed it. Witchcraft and Quakerism do not belong to the same kind of universe.

In August William Penn wrote a long letter to the Society of Free Traders in London giving the fullest description we have of the colony at this time. It is too

long to quote in a book of this size; but is a happy descriptive composition.*

But these years of happy triumph and hopeful construction were, like most of our experiences, flecked by causes of anxiety. One Friend wrote to him that his station and power were inconsistent with Christian simplicity and humility.† His enemies in England put it about that he was dead, and had died a Jesuit. Other matters of the Province caused him to have to write letters to his influential friends in England asking very courteously for their support—to the Duke of York, the Earl of Rochester, and Henry Sidney. It was the Baltimore boundary question that was the centre of these anxieties. Besides the confessedly difficult question about the fortieth parallel of latitude, Baltimore made an entirely unsound claim to the whole of the Delaware Territories, which Penn had bought from the Duke of York and which constituted three out of his six settled counties. Such a claim included the whole of the Delaware shore from Philadelphia to Cape Henlopen. This would have cut off his colony from free access to the ocean. It was quite untenable and must be resisted. But Lord Baltimore sent an armed force into the Delaware Territories, quite near to New Castle, which entrenched a camp, tried to levy rents, and threatened to shoot anyone who tried to expel them. Happily the patience of the Quaker Government was equal to the occasion, and caused them for the moment to carry resistance no further than a magisterial deputation and remonstrance. The matter had perforce to be referred to the British Government. Baltimore stole a march by going quietly off to England in March, 1684; and it was clear that William Penn must go too. There were domestic reasons, also; for Guli was not strong, and they had been separated two years. The cause of liberty at

* See "Collected Works," II., 699; Janney, p. 238; Proud, i. 26.

† Besse, p. 124; Janney, p. 224.

home seemed lost. Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell had perished on the scaffold, and the sufferings of Friends continued unabated. He must go.

This was the greatest disaster that had fallen on the colony. It now included about 7,000 white people. Under his influence peace reigned and general goodwill. But his absence was unhappily prolonged, unexpectedly and unavoidably, for fifteen years, years not without quarrelling and friction in the City of Brotherly Love. He left Thomas Lloyd behind him as President of the Council and Colonel Markham as Secretary.

From the vessel he wrote a letter to those left behind in authority, to be read also in Friends' Meetings. It may seem a different voice from that of the practical surveyor and administrator, the importer of vines and weavers. But to understand the power behind all these practical measures, it is necessary to understand such letters as this. Once more, as indeed is usual, the mystic and the practical man are one and the same :

" I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love ; and you are beloved of me, and near to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord, and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty, all the land over ! O that you would eye Him in all, through all, and above all the labour of your hands, and let it be your first care how you may glorify him in your undertakings ; for to a blessed end are you brought hither ; and if you see and keep but in the sense of that providence, your coming, staying, and improving will be sanctified : but if any forget Him, and call not upon His name in truth, He will pour out His plagues upon them, and they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.

" O, you are now come to a quiet land ; provoke not the Lord to trouble it ! And now that liberty and authority are with you and in your hands, let the government be upon His shoulders in all your spirits, that you may rule for Him under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honour to govern and serve in their places. . . . .

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

. . . . . .

"My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye. The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace!"

CHAPTER XV

Courtier

1684-8

It appeared that for William Penn it was not enough to be scholar and saint, author and preacher, sufferer in prison, an explorer of the soul and one of the fathers of a new religious movement, a political leader and the founder and lawgiver of a colony where all things were to be made new, but now he found himself called by circumstances to be a courtier as well. This is not usually a term of honour, and it would, if left unexplained, appear to throw some suspicion of dimness on any saint's aureole. But, in fact, the position he occupied at the Court of James II. was in harmony with the rest of his unusual career. He was the good, often ineffectual, angel of the King, and he was able to bring relief to many sufferers. That was his task. Had James finally been guided by him, instead of by Father Petre, his Jesuit Confessor, he might have died a king in London, and Britain would have been spared the wars of William against Louis XIV. and the National Debt.

The spirit in which he began, his underlying impulses, and his first attempts at the work of intercession which was to be his business for four turbulent and exciting years, are well given in the following extracts from a fragment of autobiography called "*An Apology for Himself*," first published from a MS. in Philadelphia by the Historical Society there in 1836:

"I arrived from America the 6th of October, '84, at Wonder, in Sussex, being within seven miles of my own house; whence

after some days of refreshment, I went to wait upon the king and duke, then both at New Market, who received me very graciously, as did the ministers very civilly. Yet I found things in general with another face than I left them : sour and stern, and resolved to hold the reins of power with a stiffer hand than heretofore, especially over those that were observed to be state or church dissenters, conceiving that the opposition which made the government uneasy, came from that sort of people, and, therefore, they should either bow or break.

" This made it hard for me, a professed dissenter, to turn myself—for that party having been my acquaintance, my inclination and my interest too, to shift them I would not, to serve them I saw I could not, and to keep fair with a displeased and resolved government, that had weathered its point upon them, humbled and mortified them, and was daily improving all advantages against them, was a difficult task to perform.

" Finding myself narrowed in this manner, that one day I was received well at court as proprietor and governor of a province of the crown, and the next taken up at a meeting by Hilton and Collingwood, and the third smoakt(?) and informed of for meeting with the men of the whig stamp ; after informing myself of the state of things, I cast about in mind what way I might be helpful to the public, and as little hurtful to my concerns as I could, for I had then a cause depending about bounds of land in America with the Lord Baltimore, before the council, that was of importance to me.

" Upon the whole matter I found no point so plain, so honest, so sensible, that carried such weight, conviction, and compassion with it, and that would consequently find an easier reception and more friends, than liberty of conscience, my old post and province. I therefore sought out some bleeding cases, which was not hard to do, Bristol, Norwich, etc., being ready at hand in bloody letters, barbarities never used certainly in a Protestant country—especially at Bristol. The relations are in print. But finding them uneasy under generals, as too much to grant at once, I began with a particular case. It was that of Richard Vickris, an honest, sober, and sensible man, of good reputation and estate in that city. He was under sentence of death upon the statute of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, for not abjuring the realm as Dr. Cheny did, that was under sentence. His crime only worship-

ping of God his own way, but could not abjure because he could not swear at all. The heat had been great in that city, and an example they would make, and chose these two men as eminent in their persuasion, and as having something to lose. But the thing looked so like a snare, the fruit of private malice and avarice, and the said R. Vickris, being a meek and quiet person, upon my assuring them he was, and would live peaceably under the government, the duke promised to press the king in his favour, who grew harsh and very tender to be spoken to upon that head, though for the very Papists in the new case of the long writ set a-foot about that time. And the duke was as good as his word. He was pardoned.

"That my design might succeed the better with the king, it came into my mind to write something of the true interest of the king and kingdom, have it transcribed fair, and present it in manuscript, the times being too set (?) and rough for print. In this I undertook to show that since it was so, that this kingdom was divided into such great bodies, opposite to each other, and near an equality in strength and value, all things considered, though not perhaps in number, and that nothing would serve either party but the ruin of the other, and that it was too great a loss to his crown to gratify either so far, he was not to suffer his authority to humour their passions, but overrule both with justice, wisdom, and goodness; that he might be king, and have the benefit of his whole people.

"Adding, that he might be easy if the uneasy are made so, and not sooner—and that the revenue was not as in old time, upon tenures and in lands, but upon trade, which lay much in the hands of the party he was angry with; however, that it would discourage and confound trade to be sure, if he changed the course of his government, and therefore to look upon past things as a king, and not as a man, without passion, and not suffer his own resentment or his minister's flatteries, interests, or revenges to carry him further than was good for his interest. And that upon the trial of a true liberty of conscience, he would find [it] more the advantage of the crown than any private man or particular party." . .

The friendship of James with Admiral Penn and his accepted guardianship of the interests of his friend's son had developed into a strong personal liking for and a

special relationship of reliance upon the advice of the son. It must have been a fresh and restoring tonic to the mind of a King surrounded by insincerity and self-seeking, to have one friend who wanted nothing for himself, had nothing to gain and nothing to fear; one whose conversation was witty as well as wise, and his judgments based always on realities. James Stuart and William Penn were both religious men, and both had reason to desire religious toleration, from opposite poles of faith. William Penn was, in certain matters, the most powerful man at the Court, or the most powerful in England, during the first two years of the reign of James II. His power was, however, wholly due to his single-mindedness. It is always so in human affairs. Dare we say that it would be so in the intercourse of nations, if there were a nation with a purpose as single as that of the Quaker courtier? We may justly have a low opinion of the character of Emperors and Chancellors when they are acting in their public capacity; but they could hardly be greater rogues than Sunderland or more dangerous than the King's Jesuit advisers. These men were, of course, Penn's opponents. He was all against monarchical tyranny and clerical tyranny. But they could not destroy him, in his armour of innocence.

So, day by day, he was at the Court engaged in obtaining somebody's pardon, or some exile's return, or working in a more general way for the annulling of the Penal laws on religion. His first concern was for Friends; but his charities were not confined to them. He was the channel of clemency and restoration to all the oppressed. He therefore became a most busy man, largely sought after.

As many as two hundred visitors would be found waiting at his door when he rose in the morning,* each anxious that the terrible maiming of life produced by years of imprisonment might be ended for husband or son. All the time Penn was anxious to be back in Philadelphia,

* Lawton's Account.

where he was sorely needed, longing for the peace of the far-off place in the forest, where came not Popes nor Kings, Dukes nor Bishops. But King James begged him to stay at his side, and day by day he released Friends as fast as they were convicted. Penn could not go. He believed the King to be sincerely devoted to liberty of conscience, though equally devoted to Passive Obedience.

Before entering upon details of the work of release, we may say what happened in the matter of the Maryland boundary, which chiefly had brought him to England.

The case was delayed by the death of Charles II., by the coronation, the general election, the meeting of Parliament and by Monmouth's Rebellion. But finally it was brought before a full sitting of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, including the King, his son-in-law Prince George of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the chief ministers of the Crown. Penn's proof that the Delaware Territories were settled by the Dutch before the date of the Maryland patent, and so were not lands "hactenus inculta" at that time, was clear. The King therefore drew a line north and south along the peninsula between Delaware Bay and Chesapeake Bay, gave Baltimore the western half on the Chesapeake (since known as the Eastern shore of Maryland) and gave the Delaware half, with its Dutch and Swedes, to the crown. This was with the intention of giving it back to Penn, to whom the Crown had assigned it, and who continued in undisturbed possession. But that versatile rogue Sunderland could never be induced to have the requisite documents formally signed. From which note future trouble. The question of the boundary running east and west on the fortieth parallel was again left miserably undetermined by the Lords of Plantations. The dispute wrangled on; and the line was not finally fixed till 1762, when two mathematically educated surveyors, Mason and Dixon, were sent from England to determine it. They made the famous "Mason and Dixon's line," the boundary

between the slave States and the free in the great emancipation struggle of the nineteenth century. This trying uncertainty for eighty years shows how great the consequences may be of our English lack of technical education.

The persecution in England for conscience was far worse than most of us realise. William Penn says :*

"Shall I speak within our own knowledge, and that without offence? There has been ruined since the late King's Restoration, above fifteen thousand families, and more than five thousand persons dead under bonds for matters of mere conscience to God."

These figures ought to be well-informed; but they are far in excess of the numbers who died in prison according to the Quaker records of "Sufferings," still kept in serried rows of tall MS. volumes in one of the strong rooms at Devonshire House, the central Friends' Meeting House, in Bishopsgate, London. In these volumes are given 367 known deaths of Friends in prison between 1650 and 1689; almost entirely of course under Charles II. But it is universally agreed that the Quakers bore the brunt of persecution and easily outnumbered all the other Nonconformist sufferers; and the records were probably fairly complete. The only possible avenue of reconciliation of these figures that I can suggest is that the majority of Penn's 5,000 prison martyrs were Catholics who suffered during the three years of the Popish Plot delusion. This is not at all an impossible hypothesis.

And what human pain lies behind these figures. To die in prison was generally to die of painful disease contracted there, in the filthiest of surroundings, far from home and family, and to have lived a failing and fading out existence for months or years.

William Penn spoke of the need for relief at once to King James on his accesssion, but was told that nothing

* "Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Dissenter," 1687. Collected Works, ii. p. 772.

could be done till the coronation, and then only royal pardons. Complete liberty of conscience could only be granted by Parliament. In fact it was not for a year, till March, 1686, that the gaols were really opened, and thirteen hundred Friends were pardoned and came out into the light of day. Some had been in prison twelve or fifteen years; and the next Yearly Meeting was a happy time of many reunions when Friends who had not been seen for many years were once more in attendance.* No more wholesale imprisonment of Friends took place after this liberation of 1686. The royal prerogative of pardon and the royal disfavour to persecutions came into play to neutralise the evil laws. William Penn, was watchfully at hand to see that they were effectual.

About this time an unexpected advocate of religious toleration appeared with a book, entitled *A Short Discourse on the Reasonableness of having a Religion or Worship of God*, by the brilliant Duke of Buckingham, who added to the dissolute amours and infidelities of his private life, the literary gifts of the author of *The Rehearsal*, and had had a share in the government of the Cabal, whose middle letter was the initial of his name. This flighty and irregular person had always, as we saw on an earlier page, been a believer in liberty of conscience. There is no reason why an artistic libertine should not dislike a persecuting inartistic parson. He had occasionally been of use to the Dissenters, and now he wrote it all out seriously. It produced many jeering replies, one of which accused the author of letting "the Pennsylvanian enter him with his Quakeristical doctrine." William Penn then joined in on the Duke's side, which was his own, with a *Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book*.

There is a sly allusion in the preface to the character of the Duke:—

"In this evening of his time I heartily wish him the feeling of living the irreproveable life of his admired instinct, especially

* Gough's "History," Book V., ch, iii., Janney, p. 281.

since he believes it is not out of his power, and that such extraordinary rewards follow it. And this will add a Demonstration of his Probabilities for Religion."

The author incidentally mentions that this reply took him the best part of six days to write: it consists in the collected Works of fourteen large folio pages, or 12,000 words. This gives some idea of the rapidity, the too great rapidity, of the author's flowing, lengthy and uncorrected, though vigorous style. Early Quaker writers seem very rarely to have cared whether their writings were literature or not. The book is full of small argumentative hits, and is not of use now.

The great act of release of 1686 was immediately preceded by a strong treatise by Penn, *A Persuasive to Moderation to Church-Dissenters*. He is always at his best on this, his great message of toleration to opinion. The book is full of instances from history, ancient, mediæval, and contemporary, showing how national greatness accompanied liberty, and national decadence the stifling of opinion. His various treatises on this subject make a full seventeenth century history of the cause of religious liberty.

As " general mediator for charity," able to help men of all persuasions, Penn must, even in an atmosphere of anxieties and slanders, have had a continued fountain of joy within him. One can conceive of few happier destinies for a man of goodwill than to have such power to translate his well-wishing into well-doing. John Locke, the philosopher of Christchurch, had been expelled from Oxford and banished for being a friend of Shaftesbury, when the royal brothers triumphed over the Whigs in 1683. He was abroad when the sentence of expulsion was passed by the servile University, and was still in exile at the Hague, forging Whig arguments for the coming Revolution. William Penn dared to plead for him ; and succeeded in obtaining a pardon, even for a man so conspicuous. But Locke, as though he had been

George Fox himself, refused to receive a pardon, and stayed abroad—though expressing, and in later days showing, his gratitude to his would-be benefactor.

The most intimate record of William Penn's public activities at this time is in an autobiographical fragment by Charlewood Lawton, a Whig of good standing, communicated by Granville Penn to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and published in Vol. III, Part 2, of their memoirs.

Janney, in accordance with his useful habit, prints it in full (pp. 299-307); but we have only room here for a brief sketch of certain passages in it. He begins :—

" I had the happiness to converse frequently, and as inwardly as if we had been brothers, with Mr. Penn, almost thirty years before his death ; and during all that time I constantly discovered in him an inexhaustible spring of benevolence towards all his fellow creatures, without any narrow or stingy regard to either civil or religious parties. And yet this best-natured man, was, whilst living, daily persecuted with groundless slanders, and since his death his good name is not free from malicious attacks."

This was why Lawton published his memoirs. Penn met him in the coach when going home to Kensington, and evidently took greatly to the younger man, who having been concerned with Monmouth's rebellion, was in hiding, but afterwards resided near Windsor. In the summer of 1686, Penn invited him to dinner, took him in his chariot and four to Windsor, where he was busy over getting Mr. Popple (afterwards secretary to the Committee on Trade and Plantations) out of a serious trouble with the French ambassador. Popple invited Penn to dinner, and he accepted on condition that he might bring his young friend with him. Lawton and Penn appointed to meet on the Terrace Walk at Windsor Castle, when the business was over. Then Penn said : " Friend Lawton, I would not have taken so much pains to find thee out, if I had not an inclination for thee : and they say, I have some interest with the King, and therefore prithee, tell me how

I can employ it for thy good." Lawton declined anything for himself, but soon remembered a certain Aaron Smith, who stood in need of pardon. William Penn, knowing nothing about the man except his need, undertook to get it. Over the wine after dinner, William Penn, turning to his host Mr. Popple, recounted the above, and said he had never before met with a man who, asked to serve himself, proposed to free another. He proceeded to press Lawton to name something for himself, who, finally, said his life would be prolonged if a certain Jack Trenchard, a Whig exile in Holland, might come home and drink a bottle with him now and then. Pardons for both those obnoxious rebels were in due course obtained. But not without difficulty. At the name of Aaron Smith, James flew into a rage, and said that six such men would put his three kingdoms in a flame. When Lawton came to Penn in his garden at Holland House, Kensington, with Aaron Smith's petition, and a letter to Penn, the latter told Lawton of this disaster, but promised to try again when the King was in a good humour; at the same time rejecting the offered petition as rude. Smith, who was just then engaged in bargaining with some pardon-broker at the cost of his whole property, was set free, but Lawton says that after the Revolution, he tried to ruin both his benefactors by telling falsehoods to Lord Romney (Henry Sidney). Later, in order to make the somewhat impervious King aware of Whig opinion, Penn introduced Lawton, Trenchard and Justice Treby, to the Royal closet, to speak their minds freely in private to him; and warn him of the dangers of the Dispensing Power and of any attack on the Church.

With similar intent Penn got anonymous expressions of opinion from Lawton in writing, and showed them to the King when he was travelling on his downward course in spite of all that Penn could do. But James thought he knew the Church of England better than his advisers, and could trust it to abide by its doctrine of Passive

Obedience. Lawton reminded the King that the Church had a doctrine against drunkenness and common swearing, which vices nevertheless the members of it frequently practised. Afterwards "Mr. Penn began, as he had a great talent that way, to rally me very facetiously upon my bluntness; and when he had made himself merry with me as long as he thought fit, he told me the King liked me for my sincerity, 'and I would have thee,' said he, 'think of some place. The King hath a mind that thou shouldst be in the commission of the Peace, and a member of the next Parliament, and a corporation will be found where some honest gentleman will bring thee in." Lawton desired no place, but only to live quietly in the country on his means. He would not be a magistrate, for he was struggling against the game laws at Windsor Forest, and so would not administer them, and he would not be a member of a "regulated" Parliament. (An excellent man, this Lawton). He describes how he told William Penn at the time of the first Declaration of Indulgence that he entirely disapproved of the Royal Dispensing power being used for it. Penn was irresponsive, but many years afterwards Lawton found that the reason was that he had himself been against that way of doing it. At the same time, the King's difficulties with the Parliament would have been great, if he had tried to obtain their support. The Church party made a proposal in the House for petitioning the King to put in force at once in their full severity all the penal statutes against Dissenters, and only the King's urgent order to his friends in the Commons caused it to be dropped.

Though we may probably conclude from a number of incidents like this, in which the King tried to be fair to all religions, that William Penn was right in his estimate of James's honest love for freedom of conscience, there was no doubt that his unconcealed Catholicism made him suspect from the beginning of his reign. It was not safe or prudent, and not reassuring to susceptible Protestant

nerves, for the King and Queen openly to attend Mass at Whitehall, whither of course Catholics crowded. James received a Papal Nuncio and knelt before him; Franciscans, Cistercians, and other religious orders established themselves in London, and the Jesuits began a school in the Savoy. All this made it easy to assume that Penn was a Jesuit in disguise. Jesuits in disguise have always been a stock property of the British imagination. Once asked in a coach how it was that he was so learned a man, William Penn replied that he supposed it was because he was educated at Saumur. "Educated at S. Omer" was the form in which it was heard and repeated in all the coffee houses. Penn had confessed that he was educated at the dreaded Jesuit college.

Some silly verses, condoling the late King's death and congratulating the new one on his accession, full of Popery and servility, and a discredit to their author both in style and in spirit, were circulated over the initials W.P. These initials were well known and had been used by Wm. Penn on many title pages; and the whole thing was a fraudulent attempt to discredit him. He wrote a contemptuous and humorous letter *Fiction Found Out* to disavow the authorship.*

The ordinary Englishman could not conceive of a man whose aims were so unusual and so aloof from parties as those of the King's Quaker friend. Even Dr. Tillotson, the best of the Anglican clergy, had begun to have doubts; and the trifling occasion for them shows how easily in a given "atmosphere" impressions grow of themselves. Some years before Tillotson had said to Penn that he had been hearing reports that he corresponded with Jesuits at Rome. Penn seemed astonished, but talked on the subject generally, and went away promising further talk. But he did not happen categorically to deny it. Tillotson afterwards fancied he avoided him. Soon after William

* See "Collected Works," i. p. 125; or, Janney, p. 272, where it is printed in full.

Penn went to Pennsylvania, and thought no more of the incident; and now Tillotson, when questioned, did not feel sure that the accusation might not be true. When this came, in exaggerated form, to William Penn's ears, he wrote at once to right himself with his old friend. A correspondence creditable to both took place, at the end of which Tillotson wrote in black and white his assurance that Penn was a sound Protestant.

In connection with Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, and the cruel Assize of Judge Jeffreys, there was little for Penn to do; but he did what he could. He protested against the great and needless slaughter of the Bloody Assize, as we know from the admission of his enemy Burnet.* He tried to get twenty of the thousand poor people who were transported sent to Pennsylvania, where their otherwise cruel enslavement by the planters in the other colonies would be mitigated. We do not know whether he succeeded.† At this time occurred the execution of Alderman Henry Cornish, a city merchant who had been accused of a share in the Rye House Plot two years before, but against whom there had been too little evidence. A scoundrel now appeared and testified against him; and he was gibbeted in front of his own house in Cheapside, in spite of Penn's earnest pleadings and strong belief in his innocence.‡ Penn was present at the execution and was able to tell the King that Cornish died protesting his innocence; and that he was not drunk, as was alleged, but only indignant, on the scaffold. He obtained the poor favour of the return of his scattered limbs to his family, and the punishment of the informer. He went from Cheapside to Tyburn to the execution of Elizabeth Gaunt, the lady whose crime was sheltering a rebel. She was burnt to death by Jeffreys, in spite of

* "History of His Own Times," iii. p. 66; quoted by Dixon, p. 300.

† Penn says, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd, "I begged 20 of the King.' Janney assumes that he succeeded, Dixon that he failed.

‡ Dixon, p. 303.

all William Penn's efforts to save her.* It is noticeable that he had but little power to stay the hand of vengeance from the victims of Monmouth's rebellion. The King was justly alarmed and not open to influence. The rebels had put a price on his head. And Penn was known to be a Whig himself. His name, in fact, appeared in the rebels' papers as one who could be trusted to bring over the American colonies to the attempted new Government. So it could hardly be expected that he could do much in the way of mercy for them. His influence grew later. It seems to have reached its highest point in his mission to the Low Countries, as an unofficial ambassador from the King to his son-in-law William of Orange. Penn was going abroad, to extend the knowledge of Pennsylvania among the persecuted in Holland and on the Rhine, and James asked him to see how far he could induce William to support liberty of conscience and the repeal of the Test Acts in England. In that case, James offered to consult him constantly, and to give high offices to his Whig friends. The fact was that many of these were already in correspondence—technically treasonable—with William; and James wanted to make a friend, rather than an enemy, of his dangerous son-in-law, the champion of Protestant Europe, anxious to bring the power and the crown of England into line against Louis XIV. It was an epoch-making embassage. William was willing to stop persecution and allow liberty of conscience; but he would not agree to repeal the Test Acts, and so make the Catholics and the Protestant Dissenters full citizens. Burnet, a narrow-minded Churchman, was his English adviser on church matters at the Hague, and he succeeded in baffling the truer statesmanship of Penn's proposal. No doubt William knew that the English Church party would not stand it. His idea was to play for the throne; and William Penn came away feeling that the Prince of Orange was acting purely from policy,

*Dixon, p. 303. I cannot trace the statement further back.

and had no strong religious principles.* With the peppery Burnet, Penn had many arguments on the subject of toleration, and made at this time an enemy of the future Bishop. This was in 1686. After that James seems to have given up hope of agreeing with the English Church on the lines of peace all round, and to have turned to more extreme and disastrous courses. He began to use his royal prerogative to put Catholics in power, and to enter on a fatal war with Anglicanism, by methods so tyrannical that Protestant Dissenters as a whole joined their former persecutors against him. But the Church, by its insistence on the Test Acts, must bear its share of the blame of what followed.

We shall find William Penn still by the King's side advising against one step after another in his rapid downward course. But James now listened to Father Petre. Great is the power of a Roman confessor over the enslaved mind of a devotee. Penn could not claim to dispose of spiritual rewards and terrors, and of course he had to speak always as a Whig and an extreme Protestant, denier of that which made the religious furniture of the King's mind and coloured the main motives of his soul. It is probable that from this time James may have intended to restore England to Rome.

The only public benefit that followed William Penn's visit to the Hague was that he was able to obtain pardon and liberty to return for many of the English exiles who had fled with Shaftesbury at the time of the Whig overthrow in 1682 or 1683. The King was induced to offer a general pardon to those whose offences were purely religious ; and one or two individual political pardons were obtained also.

At Amsterdam William Penn engaged William Sewel the Quaker historian, to translate his account of Pennsylvania into Flemish and circulate it. He himself revisited the Rhine districts and told of the success of

* Burnet, iii. p. 140.

Germantown, and of the new free and prosperous land open to them.

In March, 1687, James issued his Declaration of Indulgence, abrogating the Test Acts, and all the Penal Laws, by his own authority.

This act of clemency was done by means of the Royal Dispensing Power. This was an ancient prerogative, now out of date, used by all the Stuarts, following Tudor example, but vehemently opposed by the Whigs, and one of the burning questions in the days of the Long Parliament. James had consulted the Judges upon it, and, with one exception, they pronounced that the King possessed this power. (The historical point is argued very fully in S. R. Gardiner's History of the Reign of James I). With a King of the narrow, unperceptive, but direct mind of James II., such a judgment was as unfortunate as it was cowardly. Nevertheless, in this case, a great act of justice was done, and the King was really ahead of his Anglican Parliament. In the address of thanks which Friends presented, William Penn took care to insert a clause trusting that the sanction of Parliament would be obtained, and in the royal closet he pressed it earnestly upon his friend and sovereign.

His anxiety to have the Indulgence granted on a constitutional basis led him to write this year, anonymously, a book called *Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters*, from which we have already quoted. The advice was to abolish Penal Laws and Tests. Desiring to make his arguments acceptable to the Church, he tactfully quotes largely from King Charles I.; both authentic utterances from Carisbrooke and extracts from *Eikon Basilike*, now regarded as a posthumous forgery. The unusual anonymity was probably due to his close connection with the crown. Under his name it would have been regarded as an inspired work, done at James's orders. But few would fail to recognise the easy, free and voluminous style, and the

wealth of historical allusion characteristic of William Penn. Taking into account all his books on Toleration, of which this was the last, his practical advocacy by deed and word, and his constructive work in the founding of his free colony, I am inclined to place William Penn at the head of the noble army of advocates for religious toleration, at any rate in England. He identified himself with it in his life, and we may safely identify the triumphant cause with his name, after his death.

In the summer of 1687 William Penn was on a religious journey through the midland counties, holding great meetings, in crowded meeting houses and in the open air. The King was making a progress at the same time, and they appear to have met sometimes. Penn writes " I had two meetings on First Day at Chester, in the Tennis Court, where were about a thousand people, while the King was there."

At Oxford, he found James engaged in the famous conflict with the Fellows of Magdalen College. The King was endeavouring to obtain the control of certain colleges in both Universities for Roman Catholics. He relied upon the profession of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience which they had recently made. He was to find that that doctrine held when it was a question of coercing Dissenters, but to be coerced in the interests of Catholics was a different matter. The story is familiar in English History. James ordered the Fellows of this, the wealthiest of the Oxford Colleges, to elect to their vacant Presidency a Catholic named Antony Farmer. He was not legally qualified and was of bad life. They petitioned the King to name some one else. Through some error, a reply was delayed, and the Fellows chose Dr. John Hough, a good but somewhat narrow-minded man. The ecclesiastical commission, a body under royal authority, deposed Hough and dropped Farmer. After some weeks James recommended Parker, Bishop of Oxford, to them—a prelate Popishly inclined. They replied that they stood

by Hough. A scene with the King at Bath took place, which left both sides very angry. At this stage William Penn came to Oxford, and as general peacemaker he interposed his services. He had a long consultation with the Fellows, and was convinced that they were in the right. At first he had hoped some compromise might be found, but he told them that they could not give in, and offered to write this opinion to the King at once. They joyfully produced writing materials, and William Penn wrote to the King urging him not to try to force the Fellows to break their oaths or do violence to their consciences. Penn had to leave that day, and the Fellows delivered to the King his friend's letter. But the King was obdurate. After Penn had again joined the Court circle at Windsor, Dr. Hough and a deputation of Fellows came again to see him, and discussed the matter fully for three hours. Penn said he had already tried what he could, but the King's pride was roused. He wished he had been able to come in earlier, before passion had entered. He went over all the difficulties again, and said again that the Fellows were right. He advised no submission, as they feared he might have done. The Papists, they said, had already got Christchurch and University College ; they were now after Magdalen. Penn agreed that they should never have it, explaining however to Hough and his Friends that Catholics ought, like other Englishmen, to have the chance of a liberal education. This was not acceptable to Hough and was not pursued. He took a further statement of their case, and laid it before the King. But in vain. The Fellows were all expelled, for a time. But before long James restored them to their college and their incomes—his pride had been satisfied, and he had begun to be afraid of the storms he had raised.

In April 1688, James renewed the Declaration of Indulgence, and to make the clergy abate their pretensions, and bite the dust, ordered them to read it in their Churches. The refusal of the Seven Bishops to do this,

and their trial and acquittal, were really the beginning of the Revolution. The birth of a son, afterwards James the Old Pretender, accelerated the determination of the allied Protestant bodies to offer the throne to William of Orange. Penn had earnestly opposed the order to read the Declaration of Indulgence in the Churches. When the Prince of Wales was born, Penn urged that it should be celebrated by the release of the Bishops and a general pardon for the exiles in Holland. It was refused. Then came the end—the bloodless revolution. The friendless King, surrounded by traitors, fled to France, and William of Orange and his wife ascended the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. The days of William Penn as a courtier were over until royal friendliness was restored when James's daughter, Anne, became Queen.

CHAPTER XVI

Hunted and Hidden

1689-1693

If I have caught anything of the personality of William Penn, the sort of man he was to meet and live with, apart from the public achievements and high principles for which he stands with honour as a character in history, I should say that he was an expansive man, hearty, sociable, conversational, and both in speech and writing more apt to begin than to stop, a large-souled, optimistic and open-hearted Friend, accessible to appeals, not critical of his fellows, not particular about money, and apt to be taken in. The centre of his faith was the divine presence in man, and such large charity as his does not go with a suspicious nature. He looked out upon the world as a friend to it, and sometimes he was bitten in return. Further than this, he had the upbringing of a landlord and aristocrat, not of a man of business. Other people acted as his business men while he devoted himself to ministerial work, to much travelling, to the writing of books and the exertion of political influence on behalf of liberty of conscience. He is said to have overspent £3,000 during the reign of James II. through his work and place at Court.* The original purchase of Pennsylvania from the Indians and the initial costs of that great land speculation had fallen upon his private purse heavily. In 1705 he estimated that during the fifteen years between his two visits to Philadelphia, he had spent £400 a year in London

* "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," p. 325.

" to hinder much mischief against us if not to do much good."*

On the top of all this the Shangarry estates became unproductive during the Irish war which followed the Revolution. It is rarely the lot of prophets to make money, and William Penn was no exception. The result, unfortunately, is that during the period of his life which followed the Revolution he was under severe financial embarrassments, of which we shall have to relate the sordid and undignified details. His life up to 1688 had been one crescendo of power, of strife, indeed, and turmoil and endless labour, but also of victory, of noble achievement, of large and expanding hope. The winds blew and blustered and knocked him down now and then, but the sun shone all the time. But at that date the clouds fell, and we have to deal henceforth with a suffering and struggling man. Who shall say which is the greater destiny ?

The flight of King James and the victory of William were followed, in the usual course of such things, by a stampede of the friends of the fallen. Jeffreys was caught as a grimy sailor in an ale-house at Wapping. Sunderland, in his wife's clothes, escaped. These were, for the time at least, Catholics and tools of the Prerogative. But what of the champion of ultra-Protestantism and liberty of conscience, the King's chartered friend from the camp of his religious and political opponents ? William Penn, instead of taking refuge in Pennsylvania for a time, was still to be found as usual, frequenting Whitehall daily, fearless because not identified in power and place with either political interest. The Lords of the Council, acting temporarily for William, bound him over on December 10th, 1688, in a £6,000 bond to appear if called up, at the beginning of the Easter Term. More they had no ground for doing ; less they dare not do for fear of the rising sun. Penn told them that James was still his

* " Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," p. 325.

personal friend, though no longer his sovereign. He was an alien in the political world, after all. Informers and low hangers-on of the dominant party, with an eye to the plunder of an estate, induced the Lords in Council to issue a warrant for his arrest in February. He refused to come till the time specified in his bond, and wrote a statement of his innocence to the Earl of Shrewsbury. In the Easter term, when he presented himself, the public mind was calmer, no accuser appeared, and the judges acquitted him.

The object of William in securing the crown of England had been to draw in the power of this country to help him in his life-long struggle with Louis XIV. of France. He aimed at being the head of a coalition of Protestant countries to maintain the Balance of Power against the aggressive Imperialism of the Most Catholic King. This war of the Grand Alliance began at once. It affected our story in two ways. It involved Pennsylvania in demands for support against the French in Canada; and it was the immediate cause of the Toleration Act, the triumph of the life-work of William Penn thus far.

The King wished for a united people. He wished to enlist in his Grand Alliance Lutherans and Calvinists abroad; he was to be the champion of all forms of Protestantism, and therefore could not persecute any at home. He still had the Anglican Church heavily against him; and the Toleration Act of 1689 was his doing, a victory of the King over the Church. It was a piece of legislation of the usual inconsequent British type. It did not proclaim religious liberty as a uniform principle; it left Unitarians out, as an insignificant folk numerically, and as a concession to orthodoxy. It left Catholics out, being too near to the recent Catholic attempt to capture England. All it did was to abrogate the penalties of the Penal Laws to Protestant Dissenters who would take the oaths to the Government. A special clause met the case of the non-juring Quakers. Dissenters might apply for

warrants for their places of worship, and the magistrates were obliged to grant them, if they agreed to worship with open doors, and if there was nothing unreasonable about the request. Thus, in a patchwork manner, but effectively, the end was achieved, and the period of active persecution was ended. Severe laws continued to be passed against Catholics, but they were contrary to public opinion, and very slightly carried out. The gaols were no longer to be bulwarks of Anglican Christianity. It is to be regretted that the Church was compelled, not persuaded, to abandon the road of force in order to achieve the things of the spirit. Noncomformists were not yet full citizens by any means. They were to be tolerated, that was all, as an inferior class. The Test Act still held. The Commons desired to repeal it, but the Lords by a large majority maintained it, one of the many blessings the Peers have conferred upon their long-suffering country! No one but an Anglican could hold any public office—sit on the bench—execute a legal trust—act as guardian to a ward—hold a commission in the army or navy—or have a University education. Not till Gladstone's Act of 1873 completed the work of William Penn, was this last preposterous oppression finally done away with.

For many years after the Toleration Act the attempt of any Friend to teach a school was resisted by the clergy to the utmost of their power. Nevertheless, the first period of Quakerism, its age of storm and stress was over. The Society had now to meet the more soporific dangers affecting an isolated sect of peculiar manners and faith, left quietly to itself, without much education, with no professional preachers or agents, gathering up its skirts more and more carefully from the pollutions of an age in which the Church was ineffective, public morals lax, and the evil effects of war seldom long absent.

But the achievement of Toleration did not render William Penn immune from suspicion and persecution by

the new Government. We are apt greatly to overrate the wisdom of governing persons, till something opens our eyes: and the statesmen of the Revolution showed little penetration about the nature of Penn's (to them) curious relation to James. They might with safety have let him alone.

In the spring of 1690 he was arrested by a troop of soldiers, carried to the Council, and told that the charge was one of treasonable correspondence with James Stuart. He denied it and appealed to the King in person, and the appeal was granted. He was examined for two hours in William's presence. The Government had intercepted a letter from James addressed to William Penn, asking him to go to his assistance, "and to express to him the resentments of his favour and benevolence." What did "resentments" mean? William Penn did not know, but supposed James wanted him to help in his restoration.* He then drew the distinction between his personal friendship for the deposed king, which still persisted, and any agreement with his politics or willingness to aid his return. William had the perception to appreciate and value such loyalty. He had known Penn well in the old days at the Hague, and would have set him free. He wished to stand well with Dissenters. But some in the Council succeeded in getting him bound over to appear again in Trinity Term. He appeared, and was discharged.†

Penn's friends were aware that he was suspect, and one of them, whose name has not come down to us, made it his business to collect the letters written by Penn to his gay friend the Duke of Buckingham, lest they should be used by some enemy against him. This brought from William Penn a grateful letter, in which he describes the

* No doubt the French word *ressentiments i.e.* the "experiences." It would seem to be a bad translation of a kind message. I should conjecture that "express" ought to be "remind."

† We owe this narrative to Gerard Croese entirely.

FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE AND SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA.

relation between the Quaker and the dissolute Duke. "My only business with him ever was to make his superior quality and sense useful to this Kingdom, that he might not die under the guilt of mis-spending the greatest talents that were among the nobility of any country." Penn then was Socrates to his Alcibiades.

Every interval of peace was employed by William Penn in preparation for returning to Pennsylvania, but these intervals were not long, and his whole life at this time must have been one of ceaseless worry. The times were panicky: William was in Ireland fighting the campaign of the Boyne. The French fleet had defeated the British and Dutch, and invasion was threatened. The Queen's advisers ordered the arrest of eighteen men of distinction supposed to be implicated in a plot. By the usual wisdom of governing persons, William Penn was included in this list. He was lodged in prison, though far from well, and once more acquitted for want of evidence by the Court of King's Bench at Westminster at the close of the Michaelmas Term.

Again the eager preparations for a journey to America went forward. Pennsylvania was harassed by war without and faction within; and it was clear that Penn was to be the constant victim of spies living on government suspicion. The battle of Toleration had been won for that age, and there seemed to be little service for him in England. He engaged a vessel to carry him over the ocean. The Government appointed him a convoy to guard against French privateers, and all was ready. Then on 30th January, 1691 (new style) came the death of George Fox. Margaret Fox was, as usual, at Swarthmoor, and William Penn had to write the sad news to her.

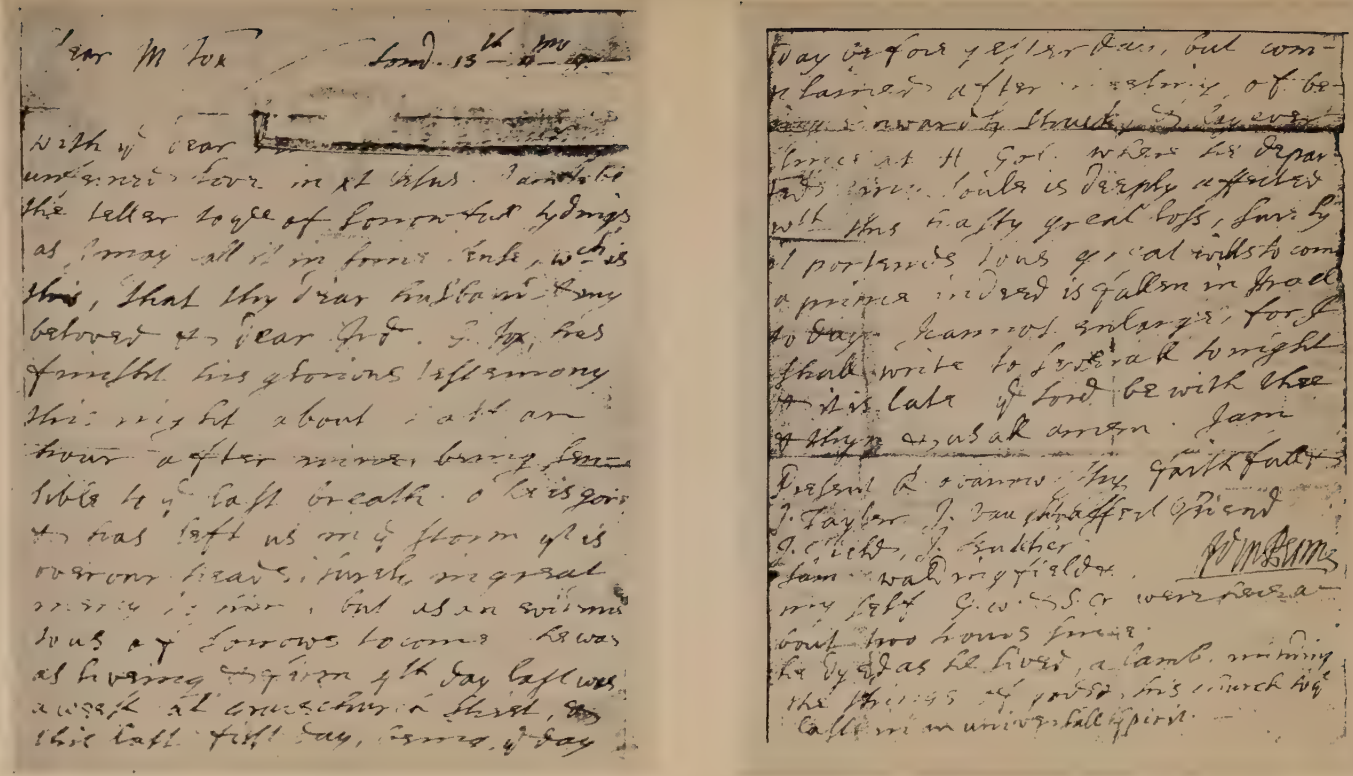
"I am to be teller to thee of sorrowful tidings, in some respect, which is this: that thy dear husband and my beloved and dear friend, finished his glorious testimony this night about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath. Oh! he is gone, and has left us in the storm that is over our heads."

" He died, as he lived, a lamb, minding the things of God and his church to the last, in an universal spirit."

William Penn was the chief speaker to the crowd at the vast funeral. He estimated that 2,000 people were present. He wrote to Thomas Lloyd in Philadelphia : " I was never more public than that day. I felt myself easy." In such quaint language did our fore-elders confide to one another that eloquence and power had been theirs that day. William Penn continues of George Fox, " He was got to his inn, before the storm that is coming overtook him." This is in the same strain of foreboding as the note he wrote to Fox's widow. We find it again in his Testimony to Robert Barclay, who died on October 3rd, 1690, a few months before George Fox, at the early age of forty-two. " The overcasting of so many bright stars almost together, and of the first magnitude in our horizon, from our bodily view, is not the least symptom or token to me of an approaching storm, and perhaps so dreadful that we may have fresh cause to think them happy that are delivered from the toils and miseries that may ensue."

The deaths of George Fox and Robert Barclay and John Burnyeat, who died in September, 1690, within a few months, also of Robert Lodges and Thomas Salthouse about the same time, made the survivors feel stripped and poor. But in fact no calamity did come. There was no more persecution. From a letter to the Provincial Council of his colony, it would appear that the European War, on a then unexampled scale, was the cause of his foreboding of evil.

As the multitude separated after the funeral in Bunhill Fields, officers appeared to arrest Penn for the fourth time, but they had mistaken the hour and missed their quarry. To flee from England under a charge of treason and conspiracy would be folly ; and with grievous disappointment he sent the vessel with its freight of new colonists to Philadelphia, and turned to his enemies.



FACSIMILE OF WILLIAM PENN'S LETTER TO MARGARET FOX TELLING OF THE DECEASE OF HER HUSBAND.
From the original in "The Thirnbeck MSS." in the possession of Wilfrid Grace, of Bristol. (See page 329.)

An infamous rascal named William Fuller was the informer. He lived by this trade. This time he got himself out of prison by stating that he knew of William Penn's treasonable correspondence with the Stuarts, and with the usual wisdom of governing persons, the government had issued one more warrant against him in consequence. Fuller was a scoundrel of the Oates type, and just then in high repute. He could, for instance, bear witness against the legitimacy of James the Pretender—a useful man. A few months later, Parliament pronounced him "a cheat and a notorious impostor." The House demanded his prosecution by the Crown, and he was put in the pillory. Ten years later another libel caused him to be pilloried at Charing Cross and Temple Bar, where he was much beaten by the mob, and also at the Royal Exchange, fined a thousand marks and sent to the House of Correction. But this is later history. At the moment it was not safe for the Governor of Pennsylvania to stand his trial against him, nor safe to flee abroad from him.

So we are told that Penn went into retirement in a private lodging in the City of London for nearly three years, from the beginning of 1691 to near the close of 1693. With the discrediting of his accuser Fuller, the King ought to have withdrawn the warrants and liberated Penn. But there was a reason, a characteristically royal reason, against this being done. The King wished for military reasons to revoke the charter of Pennsylvania and annex it to the Crown, and he wished to do this act of robbery and fraud while the proprietor was out of sight and hearing. In March, 1692, the deed was done. Pennsylvania was taken out of its founder's hands and annexed to New York, and all the hopes for a land of peace and freedom, for which his life and his substance had been poured out, were threatened with ruin. Colonel Fletcher, for the sake of a united front against the French and their Indians, was to govern New England, New York, Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and Delaware.

The informer Fuller with two other accomplices had accused William Penn in Dublin also of conspiracy, and the Grand Jury, on nothing that could be called legal evidence, had found a true bill. The effect was to put what was left of his Irish Estates after the devastation of war, among estates of outlaws, and to confiscate the rents, though the owner was unconvicted of any crime. This happened just before the London warrants were issued at Fuller's instigation. Soon after going into retirement Penn found it best to write a long General Epistle to Friends, which contains a paragraph of self defence.

"*I never accepted of any commission but that of a free and common solicitor for sufferers of all sorts and in all parties,* which made my conversation very general. I thought that charity, which gave me that office, should know no man after the flesh, nor suffer bounds to any that needed it, nor do I find in my conscience that doing what good one can under any government is a sin or a fault, for which a man ought to be stigmatized or evilly entreated. I acknowledge I was an instrument to break the jaws of persecution; to that end I once took the freedom to remember King James of his frequent assurances in favour of liberty of conscience, and with much zeal used my small interest with him to gain that point upon his ministers that he told me were against it. That so the doors of our prisons and meeting-houses, until that time cruelly shut against us, might be opened, and the poor and the widow and the orphan might come forth and praise God in the use of a just freedom. This and personal good offices were my daily business at Whitehall, of which I can take the righteous God of heaven and earth to witness. Nor can I yet see that providence of liberty and peace which we enjoyed under him, was such a *trick or snare* as some have represented it. Harm is to them that harm think; we sought but our just and Christian privilege, and I heartily wish that they that thought so may do better and answer that great expectation that has been raised in the people's minds about it. One thing I know—could I have apprehended that the good days we had during his reign were a trick to introduce evil ones, all obligations would have ceased with me, and no man have more earnestly and cheerfully engaged after my manner against his government than myself."

We do not know in what obscure alley among the crowded lanes of old London William Penn was concealed. We may hope he was able to take exercise when it was dark at any rate. His personal friends were able to visit him. He corresponded by some means with Rochester, Halifax and Henry Sidney, now Lord Romney. He refused a pardon, and demanded a full acquittal, in the letters that passed between him and these ministers. John Locke, remembering Penn's services to him when he was in similar danger from King James, offered to procure him a pardon, but as Locke had refused one in his time, so did Penn now. About six weeks after he went into retirement another warrant was issued against him in connection with the capture by the Government of three conspirators found concealed in the hold of a vessel dropping down the Thames to France. From a letter from Penn to Romney, it appears that one of these conspirators had had, by great importunity, an interview with William Penn a few days before the voyage, no doubt of a thoroughly innocent character on his part. But it gave just the loophole for a suspicious government to peep through. Lord Preston, one of the three men captured, tried to save his life by incriminating Lord Clarendon, the Bishop of Ely and William Penn. This was the origin of the charge. Preston was probably the interviewer above mentioned. Penn was everywhere unpopular, and so defenceless against attack. Except Dr. Tillotson, he had few staunch friends among men in power. All evil stories were current about him. Jesuit, traitor, Jacobite plotter, were epithets freely used. The hierarchy of the English Church were having their revenge on the champion of liberty. Dissenters doubted him for his friendship with James, and even some Friends caught the infection. He writes of "the clamours that have almost darkened the air against me." To the Yearly Meeting of 1691 he therefore wrote the following letter:

"3d mo. 30th, 1691.

"My Beloved, Dear and Honoured Brethren:—My unchangeable love salutes you, and though I am absent from you, I feel the sweet and lovely life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings: neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your mind against me, your afflicted, but not forsaken friend and brother. My enemies are yours, and, in the ground mine for your sakes; and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely, against me; '*for wicked men have laid in wait for me*, and *false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not*'; who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises: and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt no man; but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace, might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, my dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some; but we may yet meet in the congregations of His people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of His chosen, in all generations, be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with His blessed presence, that His tender, meek, lowly and heavenly love and life may flow among you, and that He would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you, desiring to be remembered of you before Him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you, in the nearest relation,

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"William Penn."

It is interesting to compare this letter with a form of words suggested to him later at the end of 1693, by Thomas Lower, a leading and much valued Friend, who had married one of Margaret Fox's daughters, and had been the constant companion of George Fox, and the amanuensis to whom he dictated the "Great Journall" in Worcester Gaol. A number of Friends—their successors are still with us—thought that William Penn

had meddled too much with politics, more than became a member of a Christian body. These criticisms always mature against a man when he is down. Thomas Lower writes :

" Underwritten is what was upon my mind to offer, and which I have since offered to William Penn as an expedient for a reconciliation between him and Friends.

" First, for William Penn to write a tender, reconciling epistle to all Friends as in the love and wisdom of God it shall be opened unto him, and in the closure thereof to insert as followeth, or to the following effect : ' And if in any things during these late revolutions I have concerned myself either by words or writings (in love, pity or goodwill to any in distress,) further than consisted with Truth's honour or the Church's peace, I am sorry for it ; and the Government having passed it by, I desire it may be by you also, that so we may all be kept and preserved in the holy tie and bond of love and peace. . . .' "

One is glad that William Penn did not see his way to any such expression of regret for one of the great and dangerous tasks of his life.

To this painful semi-confinement, with its restless longing to be in sunny Philadelphia, where things were going so badly, to the loss of the great experiment and the weakening of his standing with Friends, to the visibly failing health of his wife, and to the constant growl of his unpopularity, was added the creeping advance of poverty. He had spent of his own, from first to last, £120,000 on Pennsylvania, so he told Popple in 1688. He told Thomas Lloyd in 1691 that the delay in his departure to Philadelphia had cost him " £20,000 in the country and £10,000 here." Whilst these figures do not afford data for a company balance sheet, it is clear that he was in great financial straits on account of the colony. His Irish estates were unremunerative or the rents confiscated, and we are approaching the exposure of the Fords, his fraudulent agents. Such was the piled-up trouble and tragedy of these years.

CHAPTER XVII

Authorship in Solitude.

1691-1693

THE books written during seclusion are among the best, as they are the freshest of Penn's writings. First of all he was called on in 1691 to write a preface to the collected works of Robert Barclay. The preface runs to fifty-two pages; it is unsigned, but is known to be his. Indeed, it is in his unmistakable style. It contains a quaint paragraph about Barclay's "Apology" (p. xxxi.).

"The method and style of the book may be somewhat singular, and like a scholar; for we make that sort of learning no part of our divine science. But that was not to show himself, but out of his tenderness to scholars, and as far as the simplicity and purity of the truth would permit, in condescension to their education and way of treating of those points herein handled, observing the Apostle's example of becoming all unto all."

Thus did one Quaker scholar, in full reaction against scholastic theology, apologise for another, on account of the great treatise which raised Quakerism from being a formless enthusiasm to be a philosophy, a worthy reply to Calvin and to Rome.

Penn was also asked to write a preface to the works of John Burnyeat. It was a slighter task and only runs to four pages. It too, is anonymous. It is clear that the early Friend publishers had not reached the modern plan by which a modest author magnifies his work in the public mind by asking a distinguished man

to write and put his name to a preface. John Burnyeat's birthplace, Crabtreebeck, still stands, in some decay, by the side of the lovely road by Loweswater in Cumberland. From it he travelled far away to Ireland and to America. Penn describes him as " one of the most eminent of the second stock of ministers the Lord anointed and sent forth in this his glorious day." And he had the adventures which commonly befel such—both in the impassable bogs of Maryland, and among the armies in Ireland after the Revolution.

William Penn's next work was a tract intended to heal a breach which had occurred and had even led to separation. Some Friends had objected to the existence of separate women's meetings, held concurrently with men's, and particularly to the consent of women's meetings being necessary before a marriage could be celebrated. This was held to be an infringement of liberty, too great an imposition of authority, and a door to formalism. William Penn was easily able to show that these curious fears were groundless ; and that women's meetings were just and natural, convenient and useful. The mantle of leadership, which ultimately fell upon George Whitehead, the leading London Friend, seems here to be donned, after George Fox's death, by William Penn. We may hope his loving and conciliatory letter had a healing effect. *Just Measures* was the title of the tract (1692).

In June of the same year a Journal called the *Athenian Mercury* published three articles attacking Friends ; and William Penn wrote three replies. The paper seems to have been a sort of review, published twice a week, and to have contained historical and scientific articles. The arguments were on familiar lines, centering round an alleged depreciation of the Bible. Penn's title, was *The New Athenians no Noble Bereans*, and he reproved the editor for passing out of the calm atmosphere of learning into religious vituperation. Probably the poor man felt the need of something sensational to keep up the sales.

Penn's rather full replies were not admitted in the modern manner to the paper itself.

His next work was more important and went through twelve editions in the author's lifetime, has altogether run to eighteen editions in English, and has been translated into Dutch, Danish, German, and Welsh. It was generally called William Penn's "Key." Its full title was: *A Key opening the Way to every capacity, how to distinguish the Religion Professed by the People called Quakers from the Perversions, Misrepresentations and Calumnies of their several Adversaries. Published in great goodwill to all, but more especially for their sakes that are actually under Prejudices from vulgar abuses* (1692).

It was published anonymously, no doubt because the author was very unpopular, and was desirous of avoiding public notice at the time. It only runs to thirteen large folio pages, and it was evidently useful as a short standard Quaker handbook to give to enquirers. The perversions centre round criticisms from the orthodox side of the Doctrine of the Light of Christ Within, because it was supposed to depreciate the historical work of Christ and the Bible, to lead to overweening assumptions of infallibility and perfection, to a denial of the teaching of Scripture about the Sacraments, and to the denial of the claims of citizenship in the matter of oaths and of honour to Kings. The doctrine of the Trinity, a topographical knowledge of heaven, and proper respect for the clergy, were also said to be shockingly absent from the Quaker scheme, which showed also a weakness in favour of good works. Though most of all this is dead wood now, any one who desires to find these points briefly put and answered can find them here more compendiously than anywhere else I know of. The book is reprinted in "Collected Works," Vol. II., pp. 778-791. Three years later he issued a much longer reply to an anonymous critic of the "Key," but it would be uninstructive to follow in detail the ancient battle lines.

Of a totally different nature were two other books written during this time of hiding. They are the most alive to-day of all his many books, and deservedly so.

One of these is *An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates.* This belongs to the class of proposals with which in the fulness of time, the air is now alive; it has recently been reprinted in Everyman's Library, with other works of Penn's.* It is worthy to rank with the proposals of Henry IV. of France, Saint Simon and Emmanuel Kant. We shall remember that it was written in 1693, when Europe was suffering from a war of alliances, as now. The author offers it in a very modest preface, hoping that, even if it be a poor and bungling effort, it may be at least neither chimerical nor injurious.

The thesis is argued in quite the modern way. As individuals become members of States and substitute law for force, so should the Sovereign Princes of Europe come under an international assembly, and meet yearly or once in two or three years at farthest, as a sovereign imperial state of Europe, to adjust differences that diplomacy has failed to settle, " and if any of the sovereignties that constitute these imperial states shall refuse to submit their claim or pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the judgment thereof, and seek their remedy by arms, or delay their compliance beyond the time prefixed in their resolutions, all the other sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties that obliged their submission."

He would have voting power in proportion to the value of the country, not its revenue nor exactly its

* Extracts from it may also be had in pamphlet form. (Headley Brothers, 2d.)

population. He suggests the following proportions, as a rough guess. They are not uninteresting to-day.

"I suppose the Empire of Germany to send twelve; France, ten; Spain, ten; Italy, which comes to France, eight; England, six; Portugal, three; Sweedland, four; Denmark, three; Poland, four; Venice, three; the Seven Provinces (*i.e.*, Holland), four; the thirteen Cantons and little neighbouring sovereignties, two; Dukedoms of Holstein and Courland, one; and if the Turks and Muscovites are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make ten apiece more. The whole makes ninety."

The doubtful status of Russia, and the relative smallness of the British Empire in those days, are conspicuous in contrast with ours.

"To avoid quarrel for precedency, the room may be round, and have divers doors to come in and go out at, to prevent exceptions (*i.e.*, causes of taking exception). If the whole number be cast into tens, each choosing one, they may preside by turns, to whom all speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the sense of the debates and state the question for a vote, which in my opinion should be by the Ballot, after the precedent and commendable method of the Venetians; which in a great degree prevents the ill effects of corruption.

"It seems to me that nothing in this imperial Parliament should pass but by three quarters of the whole, at least seven above the balance (*i.e.*, by not less than seven above forty-five, or fifty-two votes). I am sure it helps to prevent treachery, because if money ever could be a temptation in such a court, it would cost a great deal of money to weigh down the wrong scale.

"Journals should be kept by a proper person, in a trunk or chest, which should have as many differing locks as there are tens in the States. And if there were a Clerk for each ten, and a pew or table for those clerks in the assembly; and at the end of every session one out of each ten were appointed to examine and compare the Journals of those Clerks, and then lock them up, it would be clear and satisfactory."

It was further arranged that each sovereignty could have a copy of the Proceedings, that each power should vote as a unit, and that each should always be present,

under great penalties, till the end of every session, and " neutralities in debates should by no means be endured. For any such latitude will quickly open a way to unfair proceedings, and be followed by a train both of seen and unseen inconveniences." The language of the Dyet must be either Latin or French. " The first would be very well for civilians, but the last most easy for men of Quality." (So that a classical education for civil servants is of ancient date.) He provides for delegates consulting their principals at home, which he says may be done in four and twenty days at the most, if the place of session be central.

The author then addresses himself to the objections that may be offered. One is—" that it will endanger an effeminacy by such a disuse of the trade of soldiery ; that if there should be any need for it, upon any occasion, we should be at a loss as they were in Holland, in '72." He meets this by recommending a disciplined education, with "low (*i.e.*, hard) living and due labour." " Instruct them in mechanical knowledge and in natural philosophy, by operation (laboratory work, no doubt), which is the honour of the German nobility." (The modernness strikes us again). This would make them men, neither women nor Lyons ; for soldiers are 'tother extreme to effeminacy. But the knowledge of nature and the useful as well as agreeable operations of art (*i.e.*, of the arts,) give men an understanding of themselves, of the world they are born into, how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others, and how to save and help, not injure or destroy." With regard to lack of soldiery to meet an emergency he remarks that they will all be alike in that respect ; and that if any Power were found keeping a large army, it should be compelled by the assembly to reduce it. It recommends the keeping of a small force in each nation.

The next objection is " that there will be great want of employment for younger brothers of families, and

that the poor must either turn soldiers or thieves." The use of armies as social drain pipes is thus frankly put. Penn's cure for this is again Education.

The last objection is what we should now feel to be the strongest, "that sovereign princes and states will hereby become not sovereign, a thing they will never endure." He replies that they remain entirely sovereign at home, except in the matter of war establishments. "If this be called a lessening of their power, it must be because the great fish can no longer eat up the little ones; and that each sovereignty is equally defended from injuries and disabled from committing them."

We need not follow the writer through his exposition of the benefits of peace. We know them already from our own sad experience of losing them. Among them he places the recovery of the reputation of Christianity among infidels, and appeals for the help of the clergy, as others have done. We should save, besides the desolations of war, "the great expense that frequent and splendid embassies require, with all their appendages of spies and intelligence . . . and their immoral practices, such as corrupting of servants to betray their masters." The freedom from devastation is, he says, "a blessing that would be very well understood in Flanders and Hungary, and indeed upon all the borders of sovereignties, which are almost ever the stages of spoil and misery." The danger to Europe, in William Penn's mind, was the Turk, who had won his victories by the help of Christian Princes, but could not defeat them united, and would be obliged to join the League peaceably, to keep what he had.

Among other advantages he names the friendly bonds that would be maintained between Royal families, whom he looked to then for maintaining peace and friendship between the countries. It would also allow Princes to make love matches, as other people do, instead of state alliances through marriages of interest. All this is in

marked contrast to the condition for the success of internationalism laid down by Kant in his treatise; *viz.*, that each country should become a free democracy first. There were no free democracies of any large size in Penn's time, and such a consummation was probably not within his horizon as a practical man. As a man in hiding from a Royal warrant he would hardly have ventured to put it forward if it had been. As a general statement Kant was, I think, nearer the truth than Penn.

In his conclusion the author instances the federal arrangements of the United Provinces as described in Sir William Temple's book, as a practical solution of the difficulties of his scheme, and an example of a States General, meeting at the Hague. Not without historical fitness, then, may the future European Court of Conciliation meet at the Hague. He refers also with admiration to the similar Design of Henry IV. of France, for the sake of which, he says, he was assassinated by the Spanish faction. He concludes by taking little credit to himself, " for this great King's example tells us it is fit to be done; and Sir William Temple's History shows us by a surpassing instance, that it may be done; and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, makes it now necessary to be done."

And yet the necessity remains to-day ever more pressingly whilst democracy has become the habit of Government in Western Europe, and the bonds of trade are multiplied many times, and the wealthy lands to be desolated are far more crowded with undefended cities, and delegates can communicate in twenty-four minutes instead of twenty-four days, and the world has outgrown all fitness for war. Surely we cannot be far from the sudden crystallisation of this great idea. For it is more than three hundred weary and miserable years of warfare since Henry of Navarre conceived his great and reasonable design.

The other book struck out a new line, away from Quaker apologies. It was called *Some Fruits of Solitude*,

in Reflections and Maxims, relating to the conduct of Human Life. It was finally in two parts, the second being added in 1702, and includes altogether 855 sayings on moral questions. It is known shortly as "Penn's Maxims," and has had a wonderful vitality. Some twenty-six reprints were known to Joseph Smith, the Quaker bibliographer, in 1867; it exists in verse, and in Dutch, French and German. Its precepts cover human duty with fair completeness; they are generally true and wise, though there is not that epigrammatic quality about them which usually makes sayings rememberable. But what is said is well said, and the author was undoubtedly an expert. Edmund Gosse thought so well of them that he issued a beautiful edition with an introduction; and they also form part of the volume in Everyman's Library. I cannot do better than sample the contents. From the Preface :—

"The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it, for though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.

"He has now had some time he could call his own, a property he was never so much master of before; in which he has taken a view of himself and the world, and observed wherein he hath hit and missed the mark; what might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his human conduct. . . . And he verily thinks, were he to live his life over again, he could not only, with God's grace, serve Him but his neighbour and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet perhaps he hath not been the worst or the idlest man in the world; nor is he the oldest."

One would like to know which of his crowded activities he thought he could have spared, to the extent of seven years. But he does not tell us anywhere that I know of. He proceeds with a sad summary :—

"After we have made the just reckonings which retirement will help us to, we shall begin to think the world in great measure mad, and that we have been in a sort of Bedlam all this while."

We now select from the maxims themselves :—

" *Education.* The World is certainly a great and stately Volume of natural Things ; and may be not improperly stiled the Hieroglyphicks of a better : But, alas, how very few leaves of it do we seriously turn over ! This ought to be the Subject of the Education of our Youth, who, at Twenty, when they should be fit for Business, know little or nothing of it.

" We are in Pain to make them Scholars, but not Men ! To talk, rather than to know ; which is true Canting.

" The first Thing obvious to Children is what is sensible (*i.e.*, perceived by the senses) ; and that we make no Part of their Rudiments.

" We press their Memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with Words and Rules ; to know Grammar and Rhetorick, and a strange Tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them ; leaving their natural Genius to Mechanical and Physical or natural Knowledge uncultivated and neglected, which should be of exceeding Use and Pleasure to them through the whole Course of their Life.

" To be sure Languages are not to be despised or neglected. But Things are still to be preferred.

" Children had rather be making of Tools and Instruments of Play ; shaping, drawing, framing and Building, etc., than getting some Rules of Propriety of Speech by Heart : And those also would follow with more Judgment and less trouble and time.

" *Temperance.* To this a spare Diet contributes much. Eat therefore to live, and do not live to eat. That's like a Man, but this below a Beast.

" Have wholesome but not costly food, and be rather cleanly than dainty in ordering it.

" It is a cruel Folly to offer up to Ostentation so many Lives of Creatures as make up the State of our Treats ; as it is a prodigal one to spend more in Sauce than in Meat.

" If thou rise with an Appetite, thou art sure never to sit down without one.

" Rarely drink but when thou art Dry ; not then, between Meals, if it can be avoided. (He probably means alcoholic drink.)

" The most common Things are the most useful ; which shews both the Wisdom and Goodness of the Great Lord of the Family of the World.

"*Apparel.* Excess in Apparel is another costly Folly; The very Trimming of the vain World will cloath all the Naked One.

"Chuse thy Cloaths by thine own Eyes, not another's. The more plain and simple they are, the better. Neither Unshapely, not Fantastical; and for Use and Decency, and not for Pride.

"If thou art clean and warm, it is sufficient; for more doth but rob the Poor, and please the Wanton.

"*Marriage.* Never marry but for Love; but see that thou lov'st what is lovely.

"It is the Difference between Lust and Love, that this is fix'd, that Volatile. Love grows, Lust wastes by Enjoyment: And the Reason is, that one springs from an Union of Souls, and the other springs from an Union of Sense.

"Men are generally more careful of the Breed of their Horses and Dogs, than of their Children.

"Those must be of the best Sort, for Shape, Strength, Courage and good Conditions; But as for these, their own Posterity, Money shall answer all Things. With such, it makes the Crooked Streight, sets Squint-Eyes right, cures Madness, covers Folly, changes ill Conditions, mends the Skin, gives a sweet Breath, repairs Honours, makes Young, works Wonders.

"Frequent Visits, Presents, intimate Correspondence and Intermarriages, within allowed Bounds, are means of keeping up the Concern and Affection that Nature requires from Relations. (A highly doubtful doctrine about inter-marriage.)

"*Friendship.* There can be no Friendship where there is no Freedom. Friendship loves a free Air, and will not be penned up in streight and narrow Enclosures. It will speak freely, and act so too; and take nothing ill, where no Ill is meant; nay, where it is, 'twill easily forgive, and forget too, upon small Acknowledgements.

"A true Friend unbosoms freely, advises justly, assists readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageously, and continues a Friend unchangeable.

"*Reparation.* If thou hast done an Injury to another, rather own it than defend it. One Way thou gainest Forgiveness, the other thou doublest the Wrong and Reckoning.

"Some oppose Honour to Submission: But it can be no Honour to maintain what it is dishonourable to do.

"*Conversation.* Some are so foolish as to interrupt and

anticipate those that speak instead of hearing and thinking before they answer; which is uncivil as well as silly.

" If thou thinkest twice before thou speakest once, thou wilt speak twice the better for it.

" Give no advantage in Argument, nor lose any that is offered. This is a Benefit which arises from Temper.

" *Knowledge.* He that has more Knowledge than Judgment, is made for another Man's Use more than his own.

" It cannot be a good Constitution where the Appetite is great and the Digestion weak.

" There are some men like Dictionaries; to be look'd into upon Occasion, but have no Connexion, and are little entertaining.

" *Country Life.* The Country Life is to be preferr'd; for there we see the Works of God; but in Cities little else but the Works of Men; And the one makes a better Subject for our Contemplation than the other

" As Puppets are to Men and Babies to Children, so is Man's Workmanship to God's: We are the Pictures, he the Reality.

" The Country is both the Philosopher's Garden and Library, in which he reads and Contemplates the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God.

" *Temporal Happiness.* Do Good with what thou hast, or it will do thee no good.

" The Generality are the worse for their Plenty. The Voluptuous consumes it, the Miser hides it: 'Tis the Good Man that uses it, and to good Purposes. But such are hardly found among the Prosperous.

" Neither make nor go to Feasts, but let the laborious Poor bless those at Home in their solitary Cottages.

" Act not the Shark upon thy Neighbour; nor take Advantage of the Ignorance, Prodigality or Necessity of any one; for that is next door to Fraud, and, at best, makes but an unbless'd Gain.

" *Passion.* Not to be provok'd is best: But if mov'd, never correct till the Fume is spent; For every Stroke our Fury strikes is sure to hit ourselves at last.

" Passion is a sort of Fever in the Mind, which ever leaves us weaker than it found us.

" It may not unfitly be termed the Mob of the Man that commits a Riot upon his Reason.

" *Various.* It is too common an Error, to invert the Order of

Things; by making an End of that which is a Means, and a Means of that which is an End.

"Religion and Government escape not this Mischief; The first is too often made a Means instead of an End; the other an End instead of a Means.

"Affect not to be seen, and Men will less see thy Weakness.

"A Private Life is to be preferred; the Honour and Gain of Publick Posts bearing no Proportion with the comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other servile and noisy.

"Yet the Publick must and will be serv'd; and they that do it well deserve publick Marks of Honour and Profit.

"The truest end of Life is to know the Life that never Ends.

"*Religion.* Let us chuse, therefore, to commune where there is the warmest Sense of Religion; where Devotion exceeds Formality, and Practise most corresponds with Profession; and where there is at least as much Charity as Zeal; For where this Society is to be found, there shall we find the Church of God.

"As good, so ill Men are all of a Church; and every Body knows who must be Head of it.

"The Humble, Meek, Merciful, Just, Pious, and Devout souls, are everywhere of one Religion; and when Death has taken off the Mask, they will know one another, though the diverse Liveries they wear here make them Strangers.

"But to be sure that Religion cannot be right that a Man is the Worse for having.

"No Religion is better than an Unnatural one.

"A Devout Man is one thing, a Stickler is quite another.

"To be Furious in Religion is to be Irreligiously Religious.

"It were better to be of no Church than to be bitter for any.

"Force may subdue, but Love gains: And he that forgives first wins the Laurel.

"*Speech.* Speak properly and in as few Words as you can, but always plainly; for the end of Speech is not Ostentation but to be understood.

"They that affect Words more than Matter will dry up that little they have.

"This Labouring of slight Matter with flourished Turns of Expression is fulsome and worse than the Modern Imitation of Tapestry and East India Goods in Stuffs and Linens. In short, 'tis but Taudry Talk, and next to very Trash.

"*Of the Interest of the Publick in our Estates.* Hardly any Thing is given us for our selves, but the Publick may claim a share with us. But of all we call ours, we are most accountable to God and the Publick for our Estates; in this we are but Stewards, and to hoard up all to our selves is great Injustice as well as ingratitude.

"If all men were so far Tenants to the Publick, that the Superfluities of Gain and Expence were applied to the Exigencies thereof, it would put an End to Taxes, leave never a Beggar, and make the greatest Bank for National Trade in Europe.

"But some say, It ruins Trade, and will make the Poor Burdensome to the Publick; But if such Trade in Consequence ruins the Kingdom is it not Time to ruin that Trade? Is Moderation no Part of our Duty and Temperance an Enemy to Government?

"Is there no better Employment for the Poor than Luxury? Miserable Nation!

"What did they before they fell into these forbidden Methods? Is there not Land enough in England to cultivate, and more and better Manufactures to be made?

"Have we no Room for them in our Plantations, about Things that may augment Trade, without Luxury?

"But it is an Injustice too; since those higher Ranks of Men are but the Trustees of Heaven for the Benefit of Lesser Mortals, who, as Minors, are entitled to all their Care and Provision.

"For tho' God has dignified some Men above their Brethren, it neither was to serve their Pleasures, but that they might take Pleasure to serve the Publick.

"But that any one Man should make Work for so many; or rather keep them from Work, to make up a Train, has a Levity or Luxury in it very reprovable, both in religion and Government."

These extracts constitute one thirteenth of the book, and are among the best sayings in it. The author's generous soul was more revolted by avarice and parsimony than by any other fault, if we may judge by the strength of his attack on it. There is also much about political morality, and the politicians he had met had been, on the whole a very depressing company; as indeed, we know

them to have been. Penn's views on luxury, and on property being a trust, are still greatly needed.

From their great and continued popularity Friends clearly found in this modest book what the Jews found in the Book of Proverbs and other "Wisdom" literature, and what later society in England found in the "Proverbial Philosophy" of Martin Tupper, now laughed out of existence, and in the sayings of Poor Richard, by Benjamin Franklin. They exceed in substance Bernard Shaw's collection in the supplement to *Man and Superman*, as much as they are inferior in wit.

There is hardly any record of events in these years. In February, 1691, Anthony Lowther arranged for Henry Sidney to visit Penn, who protested his innocence, but would not give any positive answer about having been present at some conference. He asked to see the King personally, and offered explanations and information. It would seem probable that he had been cognisant of some conference of the discontented, not criminal or treasonable, at an early stage, and that, perhaps failing that movement, the Jacobites had plotted by themselves. Penn said, "I have refused all other offers of future safety or accommodation." This doubtless represents Jacobite advances. Narcissus Luttrell enters in his diary for 18th September, 1691: "Wm. Penn the Quaker is got off from Shoreham in Sussex and gone to France" (ii. 286). This only shows how great are the gaps in our knowledge at this point. There is another saying of Penn's: "I have been above these three years hunted up and down and could never be allowed to live quietly in city or country."* Interpreted strictly this is not exactly a description of a confinement in one place. On the whole it is better not to interpret it strictly.

* Janney, p. 367.

CHAPTER XVIII

Pennsylvania

1684-1699

THE history of the new colony on the Delaware, since Governor Penn had left it in 1684, was not such as a writer of romance, governed by poetic justice, would have imagined it to be. It was no scene of idyllic peace, each man under his own vine and fig tree, friendly with his neighbours, and turning with joy the wilderness into a fruitful garden. There was all this behind, but superficially, and to the annalist, it was a scene of ceaseless quarrelling, caused by nothing but the clash of strongly individual temperaments, without the guidance of the one man whom they all revered. When William Penn was himself in America, all went smoothly, but until the last decade of his life there was never very prolonged peace and quietness during his absence. I imagine that the early Quakers were most of them, to begin with, men of strong personality, tough, stubborn, and little accustomed to defer to any man. It needed, indeed, men of unusual grit to bear the imprisonments and face the judges of the old country. From these restraints they were suddenly transplanted to a land of perfect liberty; but they were wholly unaccustomed to the responsibilities of government, from which they had been rigidly excluded at home. All their lives they had been against the evil government from which they had fled, and obedient as they were to the wishes of the founder, they did not stand

one another's government very well. The unkind might even suggest that there were cranks amongst them. It is, at any rate, a fact that every Utopian colony made by men who have fled from the pomps, vanities and wealth of the world, has been similarly troubled by faction. What is still more important, the colony early attracted many who were mere adventurers, hostile to the Quaker control.

In relation to the Indians, indeed, William Penn had already effected perfect peace, and his colonists willingly seconded his efforts. Mutual trust reigned. At the great treaty on the 23rd of June, 1683, with Tamanen or Taminent and other chiefs, the price to be paid for the lands sold was entirely left to William Penn. They were to receive " so much wampum, so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking-glasses, blankets and other goods as he the said William Penn, shall please to give unto we." In addition Tamanen received several guylders in silver.*

By a series of purchases from other Sachems Penn had bought all the land in the south-east corner of Pennsylvania. It is noticeable that no ardent spirits are to be found in any of his Pennsylvanian transactions. His deputy, Markham, had sold the Indians rum before his arrival, and it was commonly done by other purchasers, but the evil effects upon the aborigines were only too manifest. There were difficulties with the colony of New York, whose governors and Provincial Council were afraid that the Indians of the Susquehanna, a river which flows south through the heart of Pennsylvania, and was within Penn's grant, should find it more profitable to sell their furs to the friendly people on the Delaware, rather than to bring them north to Albany.

Frequent attempts were made to take the Susquehanna region from Penn's dominions, and even, a little later on, in 1691, to dispossess Penn altogether. There was no doubt

* " Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," by Howard M. Jenkins, Vol. I., p. 287.

that his Quakerism, his democracy, and his remarkable humanity to the Indians, were not pleasing to the ordinary men in other settlements. There was no congregation of the Church of England till 1695. The Society of Friends was, in fact, the only organised form of religion in the province. Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, a prominent Welshman who had brought with him his wife and nine children in 1683, was left as President of the Council and Keeper of the Great Seal, and he with two others were commissioners of property, to deal with the buying and selling of the proprietor's land.

The first feud came to a head in May, 1685, when the Assembly presented a Declaration against Nicholas Moore, on account of his assumpton of arbitrary power. He had formerly been the Speaker, but had got into trouble over that and was now a Judge. The accusations seem to have been well grounded. He had even attempted to coerce juries, and had manufactured a charge of perjury. He had also called the Provincial Council fools and loggerheads, and said it would be well if all the laws had dropped, and there would never be good times as long as Quakers had the administration. He was superseded as a Judge. Thomas Lloyd desired to be relieved of office at the end of 1687, and soon after the Council under his Presidency ended, Penn sent over a commission to five persons, including Lloyd, to act with the powers of deputy governor. The real difficulty was that no member of the Society of Friends was exactly the man for a deputy, because there had to be transactions with the British Government concerning war taxation and other military and naval matters, from which the colony could not be free, and yet which no Friend could conscientiously carry out. Yet any one who was not a Friend would be sure to find it extremely difficult to work harmoniously with the Quaker Assembly and the Quaker population ; in fact Penn's lieutenants rarely succeeded in doing so. On the whole one thinks that the choice of

suitable agents was not one of William Penn's strong points. He was too trustful and optimistic. That went with his general character, and was the source of much of his strength. To be a Quaker at all you have to have faith in human-kind, and to be an apostle of Quakerism does not go well with even moderate and prudent suspicion of others. We cannot all do everything, and in the point of employing subordinates, whether for his own affairs or for those of Pennsylvania, William Penn had the defects of his qualities. Nevertheless, Markham was a success, and Logan a treasure, and some others passably good.

No Friend being willing to take the Lieutenant-Governorship, Penn appointed Captain John Blackwell, who was then in New England. He had been Treasurer to the Army of the Commonwealth, and was a man of stainless integrity, who had refused great preferment under the Restoration because he would not live upon perquisites. He was General Lambert's son-in-law and a sound Puritan, and he seems to have been a man of piety and nobility of spirit. His innocent idea was that a Governor governed, and he proceeded to revise the membership of the Council, which at this early date was popularly elected. Thomas Lloyd, however, gave him much trouble. He was Keeper of the Great Seal and Master of the Rolls. He refused to affix the seal to some of Blackwell's commissions and would not leave the said seal behind him when he went to New York. Nor would he give up the official correspondence which he had had during his Presidency. When he was expelled from the Council by Blackwell, he nevertheless entered the room and refused to withdraw, having been popularly elected, and scenes followed. The leading Quakers did not get on with Blackwell, to whom William Penn wrote in 1689:

"I would be as little vigorous as possible; and do desire thee, by all the obligation I and my present circumstances can have upon thee to desist ye prosecution of Thomas Lloyd. I entirely

know ye person both in his weakness and accomplishment, and would thee end ye dispute between you two upon my single request and command, and that former inconveniences be rather mended than punished."

Blackwell, acting according to his lights, had tried to raise a militia. In November of 1689 war with France was expected, and Blackwell was ordered from England to prepare to defend Pennsylvania. The Quaker Assembly was put into some difficulty, and finally ended by leaving the whole matter to the Government and washing their hands of all responsibility. Soon after this, at the request of both Blackwell and his enemies, Penn allowed him to resign, and submitted to the Council two commissions, of which they might adopt either. One of them authorised the whole body to act with full power under a President of their own choice, and the other permitted them to name three persons from whom he could choose one as Lieutenant-Governor. The Council unanimously took up the whole authority for themselves under the former alternative, and elected Thomas Lloyd President.* At this time, by Penn's instruction, a Public Grammar School, now the Penn Charter School, was established. Under Lloyd as President, the three lower counties, now the state of Delaware, complained of serious injustice. This quarrel prevented the Governorship question, which was reopened at the beginning of 1691, from being properly settled. A temporary secession of the three lower counties took place. From his retirement Penn writes of the lower counties: "The Lord forgive them their unspeakable injury to me and mine." They were not mainly Quaker districts. In the upshot Lloyd became Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania and Markham Lieutenant-Governor of the three lower

* A letter from William Penn puts it rather differently. "I left it to them to choose either the Government of the Council, or five Commissioners and deputy, what could be tenderer?" Janney, p. 372. The statement in the text is from "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal."

counties of the Delaware. The plan worked harmoniously, and the two deputy governors and council wrote a loyal and affectionate letter to the Governor hoping for his early return to the province. To the above political squabbles was added a religious schism.

George Keith was one of the inner, indeed the inmost, circle of Quaker leaders. He was from Aberdeen, a learned University man, whose special subject was Mathematics. He had been with William Penn and Robert Barclay to Germany, had written many books and suffered many imprisonments. His first business in America was that of Surveyor-General of East Jersey. For a year he taught the new Public Grammar School in Philadelphia, but for the most part he travelled about the colonies preaching Quakerism of the most severe type. The seeds of his future apostasy may be seen even at this period in the fact that he contended for greater plainness of dress. This insists on an outward form rather than an inward grace. A tendency to follow the line of the Scribes and Pharisees in this matter became early observable after the death of Fox in 1691. Margaret Fox in her old age had to write and testify earnestly against the spirit of formal drabness which has been, in fact, a great error and weakness in Quaker history. Keith also proposed rules of discipline and a Confession of Faith. He would admit no one to membership by birth. They had to adopt the Confession on doctrinal points. Moreover liberty of prophesying was to give way to a permit to speak or offer prayer given by a meeting constituted of confessing members. This latter would indeed have destroyed all that was most valuable in the liberty of the Quaker Gospel. He went on in the same path by accusing two Friends of declaring that the Light of Christ was sufficient for salvation without anything else. Keith championed, in all the blindness of those days, the historical Jesus against the living Christ. We next hear of his being accused of doubting the efficacy and universality

of divine grace, limiting it doubtless to those who had accepted historical Christianity. These are the usual steps from Quakerism to the Church of England. The matter was mixed up with personalities, as such things are apt to be. Keith was no doubt the ablest preacher and the best scholar in the colony, and he had probably some crudities to sit under. He carried his views to the point of a separation, and holding a meeting of his own Friends, suspended his accusers from the ministry. All witnesses testify to his being of a contentious and difficult temper. We find that he told the Quarterly Meeting of ministers in the following year, 1692, that there were "more damnable heresies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers than among any profession of Protestants." His disownment followed. Several separated meetings were set up. Shortly after he was tried before the County Court and fined for slander against Thomas Lloyd and Samuel Jenings, one of the justices. He was fined, but the fines were not exacted; the printer who had published his "Address to the Quakers" was nominally thrown into prison with a man who had circulated it, and another who had written a pamphlet on his side. But the printer, Bradford, when he wanted to get into prison to sign a document from there, could not do so, as the gaoler was away with the key, so he signed it from the entry outside.* The statement was that these writings tended to sedition, but doubtless it came perilously near a mild form of religious persecution. It was freely so called by the enemies of Quakerism. Keith finally became a minister of the Church of England and a great opponent of Friends, in whose side he remained a thorn so long as he lived. But his Anglicanism devitalised the Separation he had caused, which, as an organisation, died with the century. His story is the first of the many incursions of orthodox Evangelical ideas into the Society of Friends. It is

* Isaac Sharpless in "Quakers in American Colonies," p. 451.

noticeable that he called his separated Friends the "Christian" Quakers.

Isaac Sharpless* tells a strange story that a gallery opposite the regular ministers' gallery was erected in Bank Meeting, Philadelphia, by the friends of Keith for his own use. Two of the trustees of the Meeting told them to tear it down, whereupon they tore down the old gallery: also that "Keith who was present, laughed and expressed his satisfaction."

This trouble was one more of those which fell upon the suffering head of William Penn during the dark years which followed the Revolution. His intimate friend Robert Turner had joined Keith, and had written about it to Penn, who sent him the following reply from his hiding in London:

"London, 29th of 9th mo., '92.

"DEAR ROBERT TURNER:—My love in the Lord salutes thee and thine, and the Lord's people thereaway, and the inhabitants also: much wishing your preservation in this perilous day, both inwardly and outwardly.

"Thine I have by T. H., and presented thine to G. W., &c., and as to the difference among Friends, my heart is bowed under it, chiefly on truth's account, for I never felt a thought of interest stir in several days after it came to me. But it has helped me into a fever that has attended me above five weeks, of which I am now, through mercy, better. I see this difference is more in spirit than in words or matter, an unbearing, untravailing frame [of mind,] for one another, not considering how much and how far they should have borne for his sake that has borne so much for us all. . . .

"My soul's travail is, in that which is of God and leads to Him, and keeps to Him, that G. K. would, in the ancient meekness and tenderness in which he was right worthy to me, let fall his separate meeting, and that now they meet together as before, for I hope peace would follow. For as to believing in Christ's manhood, it is Friends' principle he is like unto us in all things, sin excepted, and that manhood is not vanisht; though out of our

* Ibid. p. 452

sight, it is somewhere, and wherever it is, it must be in a glorified state, but what that state is, or where it is, or how to frame ideas of either in our minds, are intrusions or curiosities above what is written or convenient. Can we hope our manhood shall be glorified and deny his to be so, that made way with his, within the vail, for ours ? ' He is glorified for us, as our common head, and we shall, with him, be glorified too, as his members, if we through patience and tribulation overcome also.

" Wherefore, dear Robert, urge this on George ; but now when this is said, that Christ came in our nature, and has glorified it as an eternal temple to himself, yet he is to be known nearer (than so without us) and that is, in us. Thus Paul knew him, and preached him as the riches of the glory of the Christian day, the mystery hid from ages and generations and then revealed, ' Christ in them the hope and glory.' He makes it the character and discrimination of a Christian, 2 Cor. xiii. 5, and Christ taught himself that it was expedient he went, as outwardly, that he might send them that which would be better for them, and what was that but his own appearance in spirit, ' I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you,' and ' he that was with them shall be in them,' John xiv. So that tho' the nature and transactions of Christ are reverently believed, and are more than historical, looking back to the beginning of the world and forward to the end of it ; yet the immediate object of our mind, and requisite and profitable exercise thereof, is the spiritual appearance of Christ in us, which is a step nearer to us than our natural without us, because it is being in us ; this is what God has turned our minds into, and what knowledge we had before we counted as dross comparatively. Here it was we came to know God aright, sensibly and virtuously to our souls ; and by obeying this manifestation we came to read Scripture edifyingly, and to our comfort, and to value aright God's love in all former dispensations, more especially that of his Son as the crown of them ; but then our religion stood, and must stand, as the living work of God in us, in our conformity to his will, death to self entirely, as the passage to life, in him who is our life. This sweet, this blessed knowledge and fellowship is what we have been led to press and prefer as bringing things home, and the work to our own doors and houses, which is, to me, the glory and excellence of our dispensation ; so it is, I know, to the many thousands of Israel.

" Oh let this be still our holy care, love, and business, and great shall be our reward, when the Rewarder comes to judge the world."

The division between the Province and the Territories, and the Keith separation were made the most of in London, at Court and Parliament, by those who desired the catastrophe which was about to fall. It was said that the province was in a state of ruin.

Thus fed, the suspicion and unpopularity which attached to any friend of James, though no accusation of treason lay, caused William Penn to be deprived of the government of Pennsylvania and the Delaware counties. In October, 1692, this was handed over to the care of Benjamin Fletcher, the Governor of New York. We were at war with France, and it did not appear to the English Government to be prudent to leave a British colony in the hands of men who were conscientiously opposed to war. Commissions took a long time to cross the Atlantic in those days, and it was not till April, 1693, that Governor Fletcher took possession. He made Markham (Penn's young relative) Lieutenant-Governor and behaved very reasonably both towards Friends and towards the proprietor's rights. To the demand of the Government for a war tax, the Assembly granted, in 1693, a tax of a penny per pound for the support of the Government, and the next year proposed to do the same in reply to the Government's promise that, in consideration of their scruples, the money should not be " dipped in blood " but should feed the hungry and clothe the naked Indians, who were unable to hunt because fighting for the English.* There was trouble in the colony all along on account of this essential difficulty between the Quaker colonists and the warlike necessities of the English Government. Penn was badly wanted in the colony, but could not come. He was as we have seen in hiding in London under a warrant

* " Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," p. 327.

for treason. He was liberated on November 30th, 1693, and on the ensuing February 4th he wrote to his friends in Philadelphia asking that one hundred persons would lend him £100 each for three years without interest, in which case he would be able to come and bring his family to Philadelphia. But the application was not successful; a fact not creditable to those who owed everything to him.

It appeared to him that the only way to save Pennsylvania from Crown government and avert the failure of all his hopes, was to come to some kind of terms with the Government. At the beginning of August 1694,

"He promised the Committee for Trade and Plantations that if restored to the government he would, with all convenient speed, go to Pennsylvania and would transmit to the Council and Assembly Queen Mary's orders, which he declared he did not doubt would be complied with, as well as at all times such orders as their Majesties might give, for supplying a quota of men or defraying the share of their expenses their Majesties might think necessary for the safety of the dominions in America. Furthermore, he would appoint Markham as his deputy, and if the Government of Pennsylvania should not comply with the royal orders he would submit the direction of the military to their majesties' pleasure."*

There is no written statement to this effect by Penn. We have only the statement of the Committee as to the sense of his words: and I suspect a shade of bias and exaggeration in the minute their secretary made.

Thus did William Penn endeavour to make the best compromise he could between the legitimate demands of the Government and the legitimate principles of the Quaker colony. We must remember that both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General had stated that, as Pennsylvania was still part of the Empire, Penn could be superseded by another governor when it became necessary to protect or defend the province. In response

* "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," p. 327.

to the above overture William and Mary restored the government by letters patent in August, 1694, received in Philadelphia the following March. A quota of eighty men with their officers, or the expense of maintaining such a body, were to be available from Pennsylvania for the use of the government at New York. Penn, restored to power, continued Markham as Lieutenant-Governor, not being able to return himself. This was the best that could be done, considering the English connection. How it appeared to the Governor's mind may be seen from the following letter of explanation addressed to Friends in Pennsylvania :—

" Bristol, 24th of 9th month, 1694.

" Dear Friends and Brethren :—My ancient love without reserve salutes and embraces you in the sense of that which has been the root of our fellowship, and of all God's people since the world began, in which the Lord preserve us to the end.

" By this you will understand that by the good providence of God, I am restored to my former administration of government, which I hope will be some relief and comfort to you that have been exercised by the late interruption upon us. That things are not just now put into that posture as you may reasonably desire, you must not take amiss, for neither will the straitness of the times, nor the circumstances we are under to the Lords of the Plantations permit another method at this time. And as soon as I can make my way to that which is as much my inclination as yours (and which I hope to do in a short time), depend upon it, I shall do my utmost to make you entirely easy. Accept this part of the goodness of God, and wait for the rest.

" We must creep where we cannot go, and it is necessary for us, in the things of this life, to be wise as to be innocent. A word to the wise is enough. My return will, I hope, put an end to all our civil griefs, which at least I long for, not for any worldly advantage, but to discharge a conscience to God and to you, and I hope that you shall singly be the mark and rule of the remainder of my life, both in this and in all other things that may attend it.

Fletcher applied for the eighty men in April, 1695. They were to be at Albany as soon as possible after the

PENN'S COTTAGE, PHILADELPHIA.

The first brick building erected in the city (1682). Now standing in Fairmount Park.
(From a picture first published in Watson's Annals).

21st of May, but did not come. A second application was similarly fruitless; then came harvest, so that the Assembly did not meet before the 9th of September. Markham, who, it will be remembered, was not a Friend but a soldier, and whose lack of Quaker principle was—under the circumstances—one of the qualifications for his post, asked the Assembly whether they would be willing that "if an enemy should assault us I should defend you by force of arms.* Some answered that they would, others that they must leave everyone to his own principle, and that Governor Penn's instructions must be followed, the responsibility lying with him. It is noticeable and very human that the Assembly, always agitating during this period for more power and independance, were not so anxious to shoulder the responsibility that must go with power, but in a tight place, now for the second time, said the governor was the responsible authority. In fact, on taxation and finance, he was not. Finally they voted £250 for the Government, but recalled Fletcher's promise that the money should be applied to providing for the Indians, and that the vote should be deemed "a compliance as far as conscience and ability permitted." They further tacked an Act of Settlement, establishing a new Charter, to their money vote, but Markham had no authority to bind William Penn by a new charter, and so the Assembly was dissolved without any money having gone for military purposes. It is impossible not to sympathise with Fletcher, who wrote in June 1696:

"The town of Philadelphia in fourteen years' time is become equal to the city of New York in trade and riches, that many people have gone to Philadelphia to enjoy their ease and avoid the hardship of defending New York, and their being Free Trade in Philadelphia business had gone there."†

So much for peaceful methods and Free Trade.

* "Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal," p. 331.

† "Pennsylvania Colonial and Federal," p. 331.

The Assembly of 1696 propounded a new Frame of Government to supersede that of 1683, though on similar principles. The Assembly claimed the power of originating, as well as vetoing Bills. It also voted a penny per pound for the Government, which raised £300 for Fletcher, who thanked them but said that what he had asked for was £2,000.

These inter-colonial dissensions caused William Penn in London to suggest to the Lords of Trade and Plantations that there should be a common Assembly for all the colonies in America, which should settle matters in dispute and assign the quotas to each colony. Like so many of William Penn's ideas, it took shape long after his time, and the Congress held at Albany in 1754 was the beginning of the union which was ultimately effected in the revolutionary war.

Meantime Markham continued to administer Pennsylvania. There arose a Quaker and an anti-Quaker party, the latter centred round Christ Church, Philadelphia. There was much piracy on the coast and the officials of all the colonies were accused of corrupt acquiescence in it. On the whole, however, the years of restored Government, 1694 to 1699, represent a time of peace and prosperity in the Colony, which must at that time have been one of the happiest places in a war-ridden world.

But the machinery of government had one flaw which rendered it difficult from the beginning and always. The colony was intended to be a free democracy. That was the object of its founder. Yet it was also a feudal domain, the personal property of one landlord, who also held, from a power outside all these Assemblies, the complete control of government. What the democracy had, they had from Penn's goodwill. They were so well off that they wanted to be better off. They had more corn than tends to docility in horses. Only the presence and influence of the paternal aristocrat who regarded them as his children, could work such an incongruous government.

Evils like these or worse have beset every attempt at a local Utopia, every community which tries to be in the world but not of it. These allowances must be made before we begin to judge the success of the Holy Experiment. They are not to be debited as reproaches or as failure; they are to be counted among the disadvantages the colony brought from the Old World, against which the free spirit had to struggle, and which brought all his life poverty and sorrow to William Penn. He might have been a happy and successful Colonial governor; he might have been an active and powerful English leader in religion and the State. His misfortune, or his great call, was that he had to be both.

Complaints against the Lieutenant Governor for condoning smuggling were kept up by Colonel Quarry, the British Revenue officer, in his reports to the Government. Quarry was the head of all the discontented, and used Markham's frailties, whatever they might have been or could be represented to be, to weaken the Proprietary Government. The state of tension between Markham and Quarry on the Delaware spread to a similar state between Penn and the Lords of Plantations. Finally, when Markham was accused of refusing to capture a pirate vessel in the river, the Council of Trade and Plantations deposed him. Penn, having heard of this coming blow, sent word that he was going over himself, of which the Council cordially approved.

CHAPTER XIX

The Battle of Life

1693-1699

We return to England where we left William Penn in hiding under a warrant for treason. Liberation finally came at the close of 1693, and it cannot be told of better than by Penn himself in a letter to Thomas Lloyd and others :

" Hodson,* 11th of 10th mo., 1693.

" Friends :—This comes by the Pennsylvania Merchant,—— Harrison, commander, and C. Saunders, merchant. By them and this, know, that it hath pleased God to work my enlargement, by three lords representing my case as not only hard, but oppressive ; that there was nothing against me but what impostors or those that are fled, or that have, since their pardon, refused to verify, (and asked me pardon for saying what they did,) alleged against me ; that they had long known me, some of them thirty years, and had never known me to do an ill thing, but many good offices ; and that for not being thought to go abroad in defiance to the government, I might and would have done it two years ago ; and that I was, therefore, willing to wait to go about my affairs, as before, with leave ; that I might be the better respected in the liberty I took to follow it.

" King William answered, ' That I was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs ; and that I might follow my business as freely as ever ; and that he had nothing to say to me,'—upon which they pressed him to command one of them to declare the same to the secretary of state, Sir John Trenchard, that if I came to him or otherwise, he might signify the same to me, which he also did.

* Hoddesdon, doubtless.

The lords were Rochester, Ranelagh, and Sidney; and the last, as my greatest acquaintance, was to tell the secretary; accordingly he did; and the secretary, after speaking himself, and having it from King William's own mouth, appointed me a time to meet him at home; and did with the Marquis of Winchester, and told me I was as free as ever; and as he doubted not my prudence about my quiet living, for he assured me I should not be molested, or injured in any of my affairs, at least while he held that post. The secretary is my old friend, and one I served after the D. of Monmouth and Lord Russell's business; I carried him in my coach to Windsor, and presented him to King James; and when the Revolution came, he bought my four horses that carried us. It was about three or four months before the Revolution. The lords spoke the 25th of November, and he discharged me on the 30th.

"From the secretary I went to our meeting, at the Bull and Mouth; thence to visit the sanctuary of my solitude; and after that to see my poor wife and children; the eldest being with me all this while. My wife is yet weakly; but I am not without hopes of her recovery, who is of the best of wives and women.

. . .

"Your real friend,

"William Penn."

A private liberation was not entirely satisfactory and the injured man pleaded for a full acquittal. This was granted. He came before the Council, made a full defence and was formally acquitted. By 1693, no doubt, William felt secure on the throne.

But he only regained liberty to meet another affliction, the death of his wife. She had long been failing, and the sufferings of her husband, and the dishonour done to him, had weighed heavily upon her. She died on February 23rd, 1693-4. She has left a lovely name behind her for goodness and charm: and she was the centre of her husband's love and home. We have not much of her writing left, except a letter or two to Margaret Fox, breathing the Quaker atmosphere of the time. She died at fifty, and three of her children died in infancy.

She had never been robust; even in her childhood her mother lived in the country on her account. Shortly before her birth her mother had made a painful and dangerous journey over flooded fords by night, to the deathbed of her husband who was laid low with fever at Arundel Castle. Of the children left to her, Springett was already weakening in slow consumption. William Penn wrote an account of her last days and collected, as has been the wont of the religious, her last devout sayings. He concludes thus:

"About an hour after, causing all to withdraw, we were half an hour together, in which we took our last leave, saying all that was fit upon that solemn occasion. She continued sensible, and did eat something about an hour before her departure, at which time our children and most of our family were present. She quietly expired in my arms, her head upon my bosom, with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say she was a public as well as a private loss: for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity, and greater modesty and humility; yet most equal, and undaunted in danger; religious, as well as ingenious, without affectation; an easy mistress and good neighbour, especially to the poor; neither lavish nor penurious; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues: therefore, our great loss, though her eternal gain."

Agnes Strickland, in her "Lives of the Queens of England," tells a curious story to the effect that each year, Madam Penn was in the habit of visiting the exiled Queen Maria Beatrice d'Este and her husband, at S. Germains, and taking her a number of little presents from personal friends in England, maintaining her political integrity the while by always declaring that the revolution was necessary. The authority given for this is Kennersley's "Life of Penn," 1740, a book I have never heard of, nor is it in Joseph Smith's Catalogue. But the story may easily be true, and is repeated, without being vouched for, by Janney (p. 388). So far as we know such visits of Guli

Penn's were never made any ground of suspicion against her husband. And if they were paid there were strong reasons for not letting them be generally known.

The summer of 1694 was the close of an epoch in our Friend's life—a six years' time of persecution and suffering. He was again a free man with reputation restored, and influence and standing with it. His province was again under his government, and entering upon a period free from faction. Criticism of his political activities we do not hear of at this time among Friends. Not that his life was prosperous even now. He was short of money and a widower with a delicate son and two younger children to look after. For some time after Guli's death at the end of February, he was at home looking after the children and making new domestic arrangements.

During this time the publication, after drastic editing by Thomas Ellwood and others, of the *Journal of George Fox* was going forward; and who but William Penn should be asked to write a preface to it? The duty was taken in hand with zeal, and the preface grew to the dimensions of a book, afterwards published separately under the title of *The Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*. It was another of the author's standard and popular books; it ran to eighteen editions in England, Ireland and America, and was translated into four foreign languages. The last edition in England was in 1834 and in Philadelphia in 1855.

It is a thoroughly well-written book. It begins with the perfect condition of man in Eden, then sin, the Law of Moses, the prophets and the Christian Gospel, its corruption under Constantine, the rise of sects, Protestants, Baptists, Seekers, Ranters, and then, with fulness, an account of the Society of Friends, its central principle of the Light of Christ Within, and all that followed from it in principles and practice and church order; some history of the first age of Quakerism, and some

hortatory matter. Its character-sketch of George Fox is the most valuable passage in the book, and is indeed our best outside testimony to the kind of man he was. Parts of it must be quoted here.

"He was a Man that God endued with a Clear and Wonderful Depth; a Discerner of others' Spirits, and very much a Master of his own. And tho' that Side of his Understanding which lay next to the World, and especially the Expression of it, might sound Uncouth and Unfashionable to nice Ears, his Matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often consider'd, but the more it was so, the more Weighty and Instructing it appear'd. And as Abruptly and Brokenly, as sometimes his Sentences would seem to fall from him, about Divine Things, it is well known they were often as Texts to many fairer Declarations. And indeed, it shewed, beyond all Contradiction, that God sent him; in that no Art or Parts had any share in the Matter or Manner of his Ministry; and that so many great Excellent and Necessary Truths, as he came forth to Preach to Mankind, had therefore nothing of Man's Wit or Wisdom to recommend them. So that as to Man he was an Original, being no Man's Copy. And his Ministry and Writings shew they are from one that was not Taught of Man, nor had Learned what he said by Study. Nor were they Notional or Speculative, but sensible and practical Truths, tending to Conversion and Regeneration, and the setting up of the Kingdom of God in the Hearts of Men; and the Way of it was his Work. So that I have many Times been overcome in my self, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like Occasion, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou hast hid these things from the Wise and Prudent of this World, and revealed them to Babes. For many Times hath my Soul bowed in an Humble Thankfulness to the Lord that he did not choose any of the Wise and Learned of this World to be the first Messengers in our Age of his blessed Truth to Men; but that he took one that was not of High Degree, or Elegant Speech, or Learned after the Way of this World, that his Message and Work he sent him to do might come with less Suspicion, or Jealousy of Human Wisdom and Interest, and with more Force and Clearness upon the Consciences of those that sincerely sought the Way

of Truth in the Love of it. I say, beholding with the Eye of my Mind, which the God of Heaven had opened in me, the Marks of God's Finger and Hand visibly, in this Testimony, from the Clearness of the Principle, the Power and Efficacy of it, in the Exemplary Sobriety, Plainness, Zeal, Steadiness, Humility, Gravity, Punctuality, Charity, and circumspect Care in the Government of Church Affairs, which shined in his and their Life and Testimony that God employ'd in this Work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my Soul in a deep Love, Fear, Reverence and Thankfulness for his Love and Mercy therein to Mankind ; In which Mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's Strength, to the End of My Days."

At this time was first published the account of Penn's travels in Holland and Germany in 1677 ; which had lain in privacy ever since. We may perhaps take it as a sign that he had at this time a public who bought his books.

He was much struck by a book he read in these months at home, a " Harmony of the Old and New Testaments," by a Friend named John Tomkins. It roused his interest in the Jews, whom he, like others, regarded as suffering for having caused the death of Jesus. He wrote them an affectionate appeal, and an argument why they should embrace Christianity. It was called a *Visitation to the Jews*, and was printed as an Appendix to Tomkins's book.

He was now able to resume what we may regard as his normal way of life as a Quaker minister of the Gospel. Three years in the " sanctuary of his solitude " had doubtless been used to fill his mind and soul with fresh thought and power. He returned refreshed to travel in the ministry through the western counties, then the centre of the woollen manufacture. Crowds attended his meetings everywhere, for he must have been one of the most famous men in England ; and the Governor of Pennsylvania, the friend of King James, the well known author, going round preaching Quakerism, that strange

revolutionary doctrine, was a man not to be missed when he came to one's quiet town. A volume of his sermons given in London Meeting Houses and taken down in shorthand, was published—which implies a certain public interest. He travelled through Dorset, Somerset, Gloucestershire and Devon. There were very large meetings at Bristol. At Somerton the market house, though large, was not large enough, and the meeting was held in the fields. The mayors of towns "for the respect they had to him" generally granted the use of the Town Hall. He was away from home over four months.

At the beginning of 1695 we find Penn acting for the Society in presenting a petition to be allowed to affirm in lieu of taking an oath. He was able to plead convincingly as to Friends' veracity; but as few wished to favour Quakers, the appeal, then and long after, fell upon deaf ears.

He then returned to travelling in the ministry. At Melksham, in Wilts, an open air dispute was held between John Plympton, a Baptist, and John Clark, a Quaker, on five subjects—the Universality of Grace, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Perfection, and the Resurrection. With such a comprehensive programme one is not surprised that the debate lasted all day. Joseph Besse's Quaker version is that though the people were against the Baptist "he continued to cavil on and would not be silenced." At length, evening coming on, William Penn rose up, and in the words of a spectator, "breaking like a thunderstorm over his head in testimony to the people," who were numerous, concluded the dispute.* Besse tells us that he concluded the Meeting with prayer. He had an adventure at Wells, whence an invitation had reached him, though there were no Friends there. Leave had to be asked from the Bishop, who kindly sanctioned the meeting. Friends engaged the market hall; but next day, when the time came they were kept out, "for some of the opposition

* Clarkson, ii., p. 152.

THE "PLACE" PORTRAIT OF HANNAH PENN.

(See page 328.)

party in the town who had been drinking Col. Berkley's election, all the day before, had turned the clerk of the market against them." They therefore, with the consent of the friendly Bishop, and of the landlord, used the Crown Inn, where they were staying, which had a convenient balcony overlooking the market place. Meantime the people had broken in to the Market Hall, and Friends had to invite them out into the market place, to the number of two or three thousand. While Penn was preaching from the balcony, a constable pressed through the crowd, into the Inn, up to the large room where Friends were, arrested the preacher on the balcony, and took him to the magistrates. There the licence from the Bishop confounded the blundering authorities, and Penn was released with an apology. Friends hired a house of their own and held several meetings there. Such was a disturbance which, long ago, ruffled the serenity of that calm little cathedral town. It shows how great was the value of the Toleration Act, and how far ahead it was of magisterial opinion in some places.

Penn stayed some time in Bristol, a stay explicable a page or two further on, then, by way of London, home to Worminghurst, to nurse his eldest boy, Springett. The care of the motherless invalid was an absorbing task in these days. He was a lad of noble parts and of a spiritual nature like his parents. He lingered under slow consumption in increasing weakness till February, 1696-7, and died in his father's arms at the age of twenty.

Of him the bereaved father wrote :

" My very dear child and eldest son, Springett Penn, did from his childhood manifest a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary capacity ; and time satisfied me in both respects. For, besides a good share of learning and mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it much above his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, that made him beloved and consequently lamented ; but especially his humility, plainness and

truth, with a tenderness and softness of nature, which if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. . . .

"Two or three days before his departure he called his brother to him, and looking awfully upon him, said, 'Be a good boy, and know that there is a God, a great and mighty God, who is a rewarder of the righteous, and so he is of the wicked, but their rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle people and idle company, and love good company and good Friends, and the Lord will bless thee. I have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord; and if I should not live (though the Lord is all-sufficient), remember what I say to thee when I am dead and gone. Poor child, the Lord bless thee! Come and kiss me!' which melted us all into great tenderness, but his brother more particularly."

A young fellow of the same spiritual type in our time would not leave dying sayings like this, for his friends to record. He would be shy of doing so—it would feel silly and hypocritical. But Springett spoke his natural thoughts in the language natural to him. Here we see, on a small scale, but definitely, the great distinction between William Penn and thyself, gentle reader: between the earnest men of the seventeenth century, who created Quakerism out of a mighty religious consciousness, and the quieter faith, or hesitating conclusions, of us their successors, and of our like-minded contemporaries. We have lost very greatly in zeal and power; but it is no use trying to go back. May it be ours to build up out of the data of the modern world a consciousness of an Indwelling Spirit so moving and mighty that in its strength we too may have our heroes of faith.

William, the only son left, had none of the gifts and qualities of his father, who was after all not typical of the ordinary stock of the Penns. Religion meant nothing to him, but the pleasures of the world much; an adventurous, high spirited youth. Springett's dying exhortation may have had some sad foresight in it. His dissipations, his debts, and his one adventure into the sober life of

Philadelphia, were a great burden on his father's hopes. For to him Pennsylvania would descend.

Fears of this kind would, at any rate, not discourage William Penn in contemplating a second marriage. That age was brief in its record of such matters ; and we are told that on March 5th, 1655-6, two years from the death of his first wife, and two weeks before the death of Springett, William Penn was married at Bristol to Hannah Callowhill, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and granddaughter of Dennis Hollister, both leading merchants and Friends of Bristol. She was just under thirty-two. There are streets in Bristol which bear Pennsylvanian names, and are built on land which belonged to her family. Second marriages rarely escape criticism, and this did not. But, speaking in general terms, one can see the need which a widower aged fifty-one, with two young children, and constant public calls from home, must have felt for some one to mother his children, apart from the central personal attachment.

He was, however, as warm and whole hearted in love as in other affairs. Ten of his letters during courtship have been preserved by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and on them Howard M. Jenkins comments :—*

" The letters preserved (of course by Hannah Callowhill) are some ten in number ; one or two, though addressed on the outside to her father, appear to be intended for her. They convey many ardent representations of regard, and earnestly urge her not to delay the marriage. Some passages suggest the thought that the wooer was more in love than the lady, but we may reflect that he was a fluent letter-writer. In one letter he says, ' This is my eighth letter to thy fourth, since I saw thee.' A few days later, ' This is my tenth letter to thy fourth, which is a disproportion I might begin a little to reproach thee for, but I do it so gently, and with so much affection that I hope it will prevail with thee to mend thy pace.' One or two letters at the close of the series just before the marriage, discuss details of house-keeping, the style and furnishing of a carriage, etc."

* " Family of William Penn," p. 68n.

All accounts represent Hannah Penn as an excellent and capable woman, much liked in Pennsylvania, who developed remarkable business gifts as need arose. The marriage resulted in a family of six young children, with corresponding expense. It also had far-reaching consequences for Pennsylvania. Hannah and her daughter-in-law Letitia did not wish to banish themselves from England to settle permanently on the Delaware as the Founder had always hoped to do.

William Penn was much at home with his newly-married wife during 1696, and, as always happened in his periods of outward quietness, he went on with his tireless Quaker propaganda, and wrote another book, not different in subject or manner from others which had gone before it, but written as a short and popular work, which might be distributed. It was called (in short title) *Primitive Christianity Revived*. It was a treatise on the Indwelling Light of Christ, and the developments of that doctrine. It occupies twenty-one folio pages, closely printed. It was reprinted in England, in seven editions, till about 1800; and in Philadelphia half a century later, and translated into Welsh and into German about the time it ceased to be reprinted in England. It was sold bound for a shilling, in a catalogue of 1722.

A more directly controversial task came to him in consequence of the actions of George Keith, who came back to London, gathered a congregation in Turner's Hall, Philpot Lane, under the name of Christian Quakers, and constantly challenged Friends to dispute with him. So finally William Penn wrote a book called *More Work for George Keith*, in which he opposed to the present teaching, George Keith's own defences of the very Quaker positions he now attacked, copying them from the Hicks and Kiffin controversies of 1674; the "more work" being the task of replying to himself. The preface gave a description of Keith's restless and quarrelsome spirit. For some reason Joseph Besse did not include this among Penn's Collected

Works, though he warmly approved of it. Perhaps he regarded it, as it was, of ephemeral interest. The Rev. George Keith was employed by the Church as agent for the "Propagation Society," a disputatious business for which he was fitted. He died as Rector of Edburton, in Sussex, in 1716. The titles of his published books, tracts and sermons occupy twenty-four pages in Joseph Smith's catalogue. After this Penn wrote nothing for publication for two years; indeed the harvest of his life's literary output was now nearly reaped.

At this time Peter the Great, Tsar of Muscovy, was serving his apprenticeship to his business as an Emperor, by learning shipbuilding in the Royal Dock at Deptford, as a common workman. He took his times of relaxation at a house "at the bottom of York Buildings, where Prince Menzikoff attended him, and whence he issued on social visits."

Friends have always had a certain drawing towards interviews with monarchs for their good. This was not in those days snobbishness nor toadyism, as might be supposed. Their courageous interviews, with a view to preach the gospel, would never have been ventured upon by people very much impressed by rank, or valuing Royal receptions as feathers in their caps. The impersonal character of these embassies for Christ gave them their place and their value. It was well worth while to influence these men in power, and a King was really nobody to be afraid of; the same spirit was in him and us. So Thomas Story and Gilbert Molleson obtained access to the young Tsar. He knew no English, only Russian and German, so they had to speak through an interpreter—they presented copies of Barclay's Apology in Latin; but found that that was no use either. The Tsar asked them why they kept on their hats instead of honouring monarchs in the usual way—a natural first question for a monarch—and then what use they would be to any kingdom seeing they could not bear arms—a natural second question.

Thomas Story gave such answer as one might expect. William Penn, who could speak German fluently, along with George Whitehead and three other Friends, now went to see the Tsar at Deptford, and gave him some Friends' books in German. The ease of direct talk with a courtly and distinguished Englishman made this conversation more fruitful than the previous one, and led to the Tsar attending meeting at Deptford not unfrequently, standing up and sitting down decorously with Friends. Penn had two interviews altogether, as appears from a letter of exhortation he wrote to Peter in September of the following year, 1698. The impression the Society made was not evanescent, for fifteen years afterwards, in 1712, when at Frederickstadt in Holstein, with an army, he enquired whether there were any Quakers there; and finding that there were, he cleared his soldiers out of the Meeting House where they were billeted, and asked that a Friends' Meeting might be appointed, which was attended by the Tsar and his train of Generals and Grand Dukes. Philip Defair preached, and Peter gave a summary of it to his suite, and said that "whosoever would live according to that doctrine would be happy."* I fear, however, that if Peter the Great had joined Friends he would have had to be disowned several times over!

This year, 1697, a bill against blasphemy was before the House of Lords. Under this specious title was hidden an attempt to punish all who denied the Doctrine of the three Persons of the Trinity. Penn wrote a cautionary letter, which he circulated among the Peers, and the bill was dropped.

The same year he removed from Worminghurst, his home for most of his former married life, to Bristol, where lived all the family of Hannah, and we must regard him now for a while as a Bristol Friend when he was at home.

* Thomas Story's Journal is the authority for much of this narrative.

Thomas Story gave such answer as one might expect. William Penn, who could speak German fluently, along with George Whitehead and three other Friends, now went to see the Tsar at Deptford, and gave him some Friends' books in German. The ease of direct talk with a courtly and distinguished Englishman made this conversation more fruitful than the previous one, and led to the Tsar attending meeting at Deptford not unfrequently, standing up and sitting down decorously with Friends. Penn had two interviews altogether, as appears from a letter of exhortation he wrote to Peter in September of the following year, 1698. The impression the Society made was not evanescent, for fifteen years afterwards, in 1712, when at Frederickstadt in Holstein, with an army, he enquired whether there were any Quakers there; and finding that there were, he cleared his soldiers out of the Meeting House where they were billeted, and asked that a Friends' Meeting might be appointed, which was attended by the Tsar and his train of Generals and Grand Dukes. Philip Defair preached, and Peter gave a summary of it to his suite, and said that "whosoever would live according to that doctrine would be happy."* I fear, however, that if Peter the Great had joined Friends he would have had to be disowned several times over!

This year, 1697, a bill against blasphemy was before the House of Lords. Under this specious title was hidden an attempt to punish all who denied the Doctrine of the three Persons of the Trinity. Penn wrote a cautionary letter, which he circulated among the Peers, and the bill was dropped.

The same year he removed from Worminghurst, his home for most of his former married life, to Bristol, where lived all the family of Hannah, and we must regard him now for a while as a Bristol Friend when he was at home.

* Thomas Story's Journal is the authority for much of this narrative.

THE "PLACE" PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PENN.

(See page 328.)

The year 1698 was not so crowded with events as had been many of its predecessors, but in the lives of most men it would have been considered an exciting and eventful period. It was mainly occupied with a ministerial visit to Ireland. He had not seen Friends there, nor his Shangarry tenants, for thirty years. With him went Thomas Story and John Everott, ministers under the same concern. All we know of the visit comes from the Journal of Thomas Story, where it is told at length. They attended the half yearly meeting at Dublin, which the presence of William Penn caused " to be attended by people of all ranks and professions." We read that he was " ever furnished by the Truth with matter fully to answer their expectations." The Dean of Derry was there, and was asked by his Bishop whether he had heard anything but blasphemy and nonsense, and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer. He replied that " he heard no blasphemy nor nonsense, but the everlasting truth, and did not only take off his hat at prayer, but his heart said Amen to what he had heard." Penn's old opponent from Melksham, John Plympton the Baptist, was in Dublin circulating a pamphlet *A Quaker no Christian*, on the usual lines, representing that what Friends omitted was vital to correct theology. Penn replied with a pamphlet *The Quaker a Christian*, and a short explanatory tract called *Gospel Truths*, signed by himself, Thomas Story, Anthony Sharp the leading Dublin Friend, and George Rook. He reprinted also the eighth and ninth chapters of *Primitive Christianity Revived*. Altogether the Protestant community in Dublin must have had much to consider, in speech and writing, of Quaker truth. These defensive tracts were not outpourings of the new wine of Quaker conviction on which the Society had been nourished at its birth forty years before; they were careful statements intended to show that after all Friends had not departed from orthodox Christianity. This tract, *Gospel Truths*, includes

a belief in hell, in propitiation, in release from guilt by the death of Christ, and in the passage, 1 John v. 7, about the three that bear record in Heaven, now known to be spurious. The reprinted chapters of *Primitive Christianity Revived* elaborate the same theological points. These occur among much besides that was definitely characteristic of the Quaker reformation, and the above doctrines are treated in a more spiritual, one may say in a more sensible and more moral way, than was current, both then and since. That was why all this fire of controversy from Baptists and Bishops and from George Keith was directed against them.

In Dublin he called on the Lords Justices and the chief ministers on his old errand of securing favour and protection to Friends. Leaving Dublin, he held meetings at Lambstown and Wexford; and was passing on to an appointed meeting at Waterford when an incident occurred worth telling for the light it throws on Ireland under the Peace of Limerick. The (Protestant) Irish Parliament had passed a bill by which no Papist might keep a horse worth more than five guineas, and any Protestant might stop a Papist in the street, and take away his horse on paying five guineas in presence of the nearest magistrate. The Papist was also punished for having or even riding a horse worth more than this trifling price. In this way the officers of the army were accustomed to get good horses at the price of bad ones. As the Quaker company rode into Ross on their excellent mounts two young officers saw their chance. For the law counted all Papists who refused the oath of allegiance. Penn and his Friends went in to dinner at the Inn, ordering their horses to be ferried over while they dined. But Lieut. Wallis and Cornet Montgomery had obtained the usual warrant, and taken the best horses, the others having already crossed. Dinner over, William Penn, his son and friends approached the ferry boat, but half a dozen dragoons jumped in and put the boat off in a rude way.

Penn, not knowing of the deeds of these gentry, reproached their officers as gentlemen for allowing such conduct. Then the horse-lifting came out. Penn hired another boat and hurried off to his meeting, leaving his friends to recover the horses. He complained to the Lords Justices from Waterford, and the young officers were confined to their rooms, whence they begged the Governor of Waterford to intercede with William Penn on their behalf; and by request of the unexpectedly formidable Quaker they were pardoned.

William Penn just arrived at Meeting in time; one fears he must have been somewhat flurried, and not in the usual gathered spirit. After a time of silence he spoke to a great multitude who were present. The Bishop and several of his clergy contrived to hear him from a garden outside. Meetings followed at Clonmel, Youghal, Cork and Bandon. He gave five days to visiting his two estates, and returned to Cork, where he held many crowded meetings. It was the harvest time of much earlier sowing in tears. At one meeting

> "The Lord was mightily with him on that day, clothing him with majesty, holy zeal, and divine wisdom, to the great satisfaction of Friends there, and satisfaction and applause of the people."

He had friendly conference with the Bishop of Cork, and gave him a copy of *Gospel Truths*. He went on and held meetings at Charleville, Limerick and Birr, Mountmellick, Edenderry and Lurgan and so back to Dublin. On a second journey into the country he came to Cashel on an ordinary meeting day, but was prevented by the crowd from getting in, so sat down in an adjoining room, and wrote a few letters. When a Friend, John Vaughton, was speaking, the Mayor with constables appeared near the door by direction of the Bishop and ordered the meeting to separate. John Vaughton claimed the privileges of the Toleration Act, and a special permit obtained

before they left London, from the King. Thomas Story supported this; but the Mayor pressed forward through the throng. William Penn, from the adjoining room, sent him a message to come to him; and the Mayor obeyed. He was treated with courtesy and sent to the Bishop to ask for his patience till after meeting, when Penn would call upon him. Friends afterwards waited on the Bishop. He confessed at once, that going to his church to preach that morning he had found only the mayor, churchwardens and constables; the congregation having gone to hear the Friends, which he confessed had made him angry, and he had sent the mayor to collect the congregation. Thus did the Irishman smooth matters down politely. Nevertheless, fearing consequences, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Galway and other Lords Justices stating that "Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered together such a vast multitude, and so many armed Papists, that it struck a terror into him and the town." This letter the Earl afterwards showed to William Penn; they must have had a good laugh over it. After further travelling the party left for England, having spent some three months in Ireland.

On embarking Penn received a letter from the Bishop of Cork, criticising *Gospel Truths*. He commended Penn's acceptance of Christ as our propitiation and redeemer from the guilt of sin. "Tis the first time I have heard of it among you." He agreed also with the article on submission to Government. As to the rest of the articles, there was not enough in them to warrant Friends calling themselves Christians. As soon as he got home, William Penn devoted five weeks to writing a reply to the Bishop. This was the last of his many books explanatory of Quakerism.

As it seemed right to give a fairly full account of the impact of Quakerism on popular theology, in *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*, so it may be right to explain with some care this vindication of Christian orthodoxy when

Quaker thought had become established. There is no straight contradiction between the consuming fire of reforming youth, and the more pacific meditations of the older man. But there is a clear difference of emphasis, as between the iconoclast and the conciliator. To know what the meaning and spirit of Quakerism is we must turn to the earlier work; to know just how far William Penn and his Friends still assimilated current beliefs, we can turn to this controversy with the Bishop of Cork. It does not of course follow that Penn's exact outfit of beliefs is the permanent boundary of the tenets of Quakerism. It has no such claim. These positions merely mark how much of the forest the Quaker fire had left standing at that epoch: they show how far the Quaker analysis had proceeded. It is the analysis itself, the touchstone of the Spirit, that constitutes the Quaker method.

The Bishop was rather unreasonable. He attacked the mere leaflet *Gospel Truths* with its eleven short paragraphs, because it did not happen to say that God was the creator and maintainer of the universe, and did not allude to the Resurrection or the Ascension. One cannot really expect a full account of the universe on a sheet of note paper. But the Bishop's idea was "Articles." He objected that the doctrine of the Trinity was not worked out, that the virgin birth was not stated, that the doctrine of the Inward Christ was a denial of the Ascension, and of Christ sitting now on the right hand of the throne. The Last Judgment was not mentioned, nor any end of the world at all hinted at, nor any acceptance of the "One Church," nor of the judgment of sinners. He counted very little of William Penn's acceptance of "hell," which might only mean "the grave," a very poor substitute. This needed working out in precise detail. A belief in the "resurrection of the flesh" was necessary to salvation; without it "all other points of faith are in vain."

Turning to positive criticism he said that neither Friends nor any one else knew what they meant by the light of Christ within man. He denied that worship can be sufficient if only inward and spiritual, but that it must be bodily and congregational also, to be Christian. To hear the plain language, particularly in the form "thee doest" would "almost make a man's stomach turn."

He then defends Baptism and the Supper by the usual texts, making however a bad slip when he says that "Do this in remembrance of me" occurs four times in the New Testament. It occurs in 1 Cor. xi. 24, and is copied thence only by Luke. He says he writes in much compassion, believing Friends to be a harmless, well-meaning people, but under strong delusions. The delusion causing all the trouble is the authority of the Inward Light. It must be wrong because it denied Scripture. The Scriptural argument in favour of the ordinances had not as then vanished away under modern criticism, and the early Friends had no good answer on the literal method. He finally accuses Friends of pretending mortification and renouncing the world, "while there are no sort of men alive that more eagerly pursue it, nor have more effectual, wily and secret ways of getting wealth than yourselves." He thinks Friends are trying to be "a party considerable" such as would compel the Government to give them peculiar privileges. He thinks there is conceit in the plain dress, "for it is plain not a few of your peoples' clothes, as to materials, are more costly than many of ours." It is very early to find these familiar attacks on Friends' business capacity and nice broadcloth.

So far the shocked and puzzled Bishop. He was as honest and kindly an opponent as this history has yet encountered in this century of religious hatreds. But is there any other profession so ignorant of its subject as these clergy?

He was, further, irrelevant and unjust; accusing

Friends of ignoring or denying much that they believed. There was plenty to reply to, and through twenty-eight folio pages William Penn took the Bishop to pieces, very small pieces, no word or phrase omitted. I cannot recommend his Defence as sensational reading. Nevertheless, it is cogent and forcible enough; but its blows are delivered in a world now far away, and one dimly hears their thud. The book was alive in its time, and did a noble and famous service. But it uses too many words. As to Justification, William Penn has to divide it into two processes, one achieved by Christ, under which God can justly forgive us; and one by ourselves, entering with cleanness of heart and honest purpose into a holy life. Both of these are, in his view, essential—but the latter particularly had been too much overlooked. Perhaps the fullest and most forcible passage, out of many on this point, is Chapter VIII. of *Primitive Christianity Revived*.* We need not follow the argument on the other subjects. At the end there is not much left of the Bishop's church defences; but a Gospel propounded, large, wide as humanity, and conceived, (as Friends put it), in a universal spirit.

William Penn continued to live in Bristol in the winter of 1698-9; and there we find him, in conjunction with Benjamin Coale, producing one more controversial book, *A Testimony to the Truth of God*, etc. It was written against "envious apostates and mercenary adversaries." Penn came here into controversy with the famous Francis Bugg, the most persistent and bitter adversary early Quakerism ever had. He was a Friend for twenty-five years, from 1659 to 1684, and suffered imprisonment in Ely gaol. Then he sympathised with the Story, Wilkinson, Rogers revolt against George Fox and the other leaders, in the name of liberty and spontaneity. He went on writing fierce books against Friends till he was eighty-three, in the year 1724. The titles of these fill fifteen pages in Joseph Smith's Catalogue, and they

* Collected Works, Vol. II., pp. 867-8.

cannot be beaten for abuse and abusive pictures. He calls himself " a servant of the Church " in his later books. It appears that the Bishop of Norwich had given him a letter to his clergy, asking them to make collections for the necessities of this " beggarly apostate," as Penn terms him. Only by some such support from the enemies of Quakerism would, one would think, such a torrent of attack be possible. It ran to seventy-nine books or pamphlets. The Norfolk clergy had subscribed their names to " A Relation," an attack on Quakerism which Francis Bugg would seem to have carried round with him on his begging errand, to show how useful he was. Penn's reply covers the same ground as his Defence against the Bishop of Cork, but more briefly.

In 1699, there was a dispute at West Dereham in Norfolk between some clergy and Friends, which led the clergy, apparently dissatisfied with the result, to approach the King and Parliament with an attack " painting the Quakers as black as their own robes," and hoping to have the Toleration Act repealed so far as Quakers were concerned. William Penn published a few paragraphs of reply. The fires of ecclesiastical persecution were clearly smouldering still below the surface in many vicarages.

CHAPTER XX

In Pennsylvania Again

1699-1701

THIS visit to Pennsylvania was intended to be more than a visit, indeed Penn always to the end looked to America as his permanent home. It would have been well for him and for the colony if that had been possible. All his family except his son William, now married and a young man about town, went with him. All kinds of goods likely to be needed in the establishment of a home in the forest were put on board. The voyage would be, of course, as all voyages were then, something of an adventure. Before his first voyage in 1682, it may be remembered, he had written a remarkably beautiful letter to his wife and children. He now composed what ran to a short treatise on the conduct of life in the form of advice to his children. It was not issued to the public till 1726, some years after the writer's death. It was called *Fruits of a Father's Love*, and described as "written occasionally many years ago." Sir John Rodes of Balber or Barlborough Hall, in Derbyshire, brought it out. Joseph Besse, however, prints it as written in 1699, though he does not, as one might expect, mention it in his biographical notes. Clarkson says it was written at this time, and Janney follows him.

Penn may have hoped that though his son William would not be influenced by his words, he might some day pay heed to his written advice; and the young ones

were still little children, too young to understand. He also says that if he had grandchildren and great-grandchildren, he wrote for them also.

The first chapter deals with the roots of character and motive, with the light and grace of Christ within, and with faithfulness to a living Quakerism: a simple practical exposition of the Light of Christ within and its bearing on conduct.

The second chapter enters into detail, and is more quotable. The children are advised each morning and evening to "retire their minds into a pure silence, and to read a chapter in the Bible"—they are not advised to read many books, as that interferes with meditation. Careful observation of people is the best guide to action and judgment, and there are many senseless scholars. He advises keeping a commonplace book, to record "openings" that occur, which come and go of themselves, and may be lost by carelessness.

Some of the advice, I cannot but think, he gave because he had done the opposite himself:

"In conversation mark well what others say or do, and hide your own mind, at least till last; and then open it as sparingly as the matter will let you. In company be sure to have your wits about you and your armour on. Speak last and little, but to the point. Interrupt none, anticipate none. Brevity and clearness is the best."

The world would be a gruesome place socially, if everybody did that. What a horror to be in a company where everybody tries to speak last; it is a race where all but one must fail. And what a social sin "armour" may be. I don't believe for a moment that William Penn did this himself, he was too generous, large-hearted, trustful and conversational; and brevity was not the most obvious of his virtues.

"Learn and teach your children fair writing and the most useful parts of mathematics, and some business when young, whatever else they are taught."

This is in flat contradiction to our idea of a liberal education.

"Cast up your income and live on half, if you can on one third, reserving the rest for casualties, charities, portions."

Excellent doubtless, but I fear not capable of universal application.

"Be plain in clothes, furniture and food, but clean, and then the coarser the better, the rest is folly and a snare. If it be not an evil in itself, it may be accounted a nest for sin to breed in."

"I have seen the ceiling of a room that cost half as much as the house, a folly and sin too."

He advised them to take care to maintain their family bond by visits and correspondence and living as near as possible. "And don't be close and hoard up from one another, as if you did not descend from one most tender father and mother." If a prodigal appears in the family, treat him lovingly and try to win him. One remarkable passage runs thus:

"Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome; much speaking, as much thinking, spends; and in many thoughts as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind, and is to the spirit what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment."

He advised them to keep out of public affairs, and meddle not with Government. This would be bad advice now: he accompanied it with the exceptional case "unless required to do it by the Lord in a testimony for his name and truth." This is a large qualification, and covered all William Penn's own constant political labours. Politics were no doubt a bad business in his time.

There is much good advice on married life and on managing a family.

The third chapter takes up a series of good qualities and treats each fully in turn. Humility, meekness, patience, mercy, charity, liberality, justice, integrity,

gratitude, diligence, frugality, temperance. There is naturally a strong likeness all through to the *Maxims*.

He concludes with a really wonderful passage on the various terms used by philosophers for the Indwelling Word with which he began and ended this document.*

"I have chosen to speak in the Language of the Scriptures; which is that of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth and Wisdom, that wanted no Art or Direction of Man to speak by, and express itself fitly to Man's Understanding. But yet that blessed Principle, the Eternal Word I begun with to you, and which is that Light, Spirit, Grace and Truth I have exhorted you to in all its Holy Appearances or Manifestations in your selves, by which all Things were at first made, and Man enlightened to Salvation, is Pythagoras's great Light and Salt of Ages, Anaxagoras's Divine Mind, Socrates's good Spirit, Timaeus's unbegotten Principle, and Author of all Light, Hieron's God in Man, Plato's Eternal, Ineffable and Perfect Principle of Truth, Zeno's Maker and Father of all, and Plotin's Root of the Soul. Who as they thus stiled the Eternal Word, so the Appearance of it in Man wanted not very significant Words. A domestick God, or God within, says Hieron, Pythagoras, Epictetus and Seneca; Genius, Angel or Guide, say Socrates and Timaeus; the Light and Spirit of God, says Plato; the Divine Principle in Man, says Plotin; the Divine Power and Reason, the Infallible Immortal Law in the Minds of Men, says Philo; and the Law and Living Rule of the Mind, the Interior Guide of the Soul, and everlasting Foundation of Virtue, says Plutarch. Of which you may read more in the first part of the *Christian Quaker*, and in the *Confutation of Atheism*, by Dr. Cudworth. There are some of those virtuous Gentiles commended by the Apostle, Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15, that tho' they had not the Law given to them, as the Jews had, with those Instrumental Helps and Advantages, yet, doing by Nature the Things contained in the Law, they became a Law unto themselves."

On the ninth of September he sailed from Cowes Roads by the Isle of Wight. He took with him cordial certificates addressed to Friends in Pennsylvania—from

* Works, Vol. i., p. 911.

the "Second Day's Meeting of Ministering Friends" (later the "Morning Meeting") in London—from the Men's Meeting in the City of Bristol, and from his own Monthly Meeting at Horsham. No human words could be penned more full of reverence and love than these minutes.'

From the vessel Penn wrote an Epistle to all Friends everywhere in the Old World ; doubtless intended as a final message of exhortation. From it I quote :

"God is not wanting : He that long stood at the door of our hearts, under our impenitency in times past, till his locks were wet with the dew, and his hair with the drops of the night, till we were wakened out of our carnal security, is not weary of waiting to be gracious." "Friends we must keep our Tents. We must be a retired and peculiar people and dwell alone. We must keep above the world, and clear of the Spirit of it."

One detects here, so early, what I think has been the cardinal error in Quaker tradition, separation from the world. We ought to have kept out of evil influences without aiming at social isolation.

Another paragraph of this address sounds a new note—the note of reproof to the merely formal Quaker. We are but eight years from the Toleration Act, up to which time every selfish motive, and the weight of habit in most cases, was against formal membership. In George Fox's time the body of Friends were always treated as all living. But Penn finds it right to say :

"The condition of some who pretend to follow Christ, yet are afar off, affects my spirit ; for they know little of these enjoyments, and hardly eat so much as the crumbs which fall from Christ's table, and seem to satisfy themselves with a mere convincement of the truth, or, at best with a bare confession to it. Who taking up with a formal going to meeting, and hearing what others have to say of the work and goodness of God in and to them, they shun the daily cross of Christ."

"I must leave you, but I can never forget you ; for my love to you has been, even as David's and Jonathan's, above the love of women."

There were others besides his children to whom his heart went out on the eve of the great departure which might be without return. The farewell sermon he gave to Friends at Westminster Meeting on 6th August, 1699, was felt to be an event to be chronicled. Two shorthand writers took it down and published it, not under Quaker auspices at all if we may judge from the wording of the title pages. An extract from it follows, taken by Janney from a reprint in Vol. VII. of *The Friend* (London). A Life of William Penn would be incomplete without at least one piece of the vocal ministry which occupied so large a share of his life and strength.

" He that made us knows our frame. He that created us and formed and fashioned us after his own image, and gave us powers and faculties to glorify and serve him, that we may come to enjoy him for ever, requires of no man or woman more than he hath given them power or ability to perform. It concerneth us all, therefore, to live in the exercise of that Divine gift, and grace and ability which our Lord Jesus Christ hath distributed and communicated to every member of his body, that we may come to shine as stars in the firmament of glory. We should do good in our several places and stations, according to our different powers and capacities. And as every member is, by the circulation of the blood, made useful and beneficial in the natural body, so the Divine life and blood of the Son of God circulates through his whole mystical body and reaches life to every living member. Here is no obstruction through unfaithfulness or inordinate love of the world, or any temptation from without us, or corruption from within us. Here is a free channel, here is an open passage for life and quickening influences from Christ, our glorious Head, in all his members. There is in Christ (in whom the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily) a river whose streams make glad the city of God, a fountain to supply and refresh the whole generation of the righteous that desire to be found in him, (as the apostle speaks,) not having their own righteousness, but clothed with the robe of his righteousness, which is the garment of salvation."

The ship *Canterbury* was tossed on the Atlantic for nearly three months, and reached Chester on December

1st: thence it went up the river to Philadelphia. The delay on the voyage had had one advantage. The party escaped an epidemic of yellow fever which had raged in the city during the autumn.

The Governor brought over with him as his secretary a tall and attractive young man named James Logan. He was twenty-five years of age, of a Scotch family whose estates had been confiscated. He was born at Lurgan near Belfast. His father had become a schoolmaster at Bristol, and the son taught in his father's school, and afterwards traded for a year between Dublin and Bristol. He seems to have developed in childhood his very remarkable intellectual powers, learning Latin, Greek and Hebrew when he was twelve; and mastering a book on Mathematics by himself at fifteen. When teaching he learnt French and Italian and some Spanish; he translated Cicero on Old Age, one of the famous and beautiful works of antiquity. His house in America became the centre of the intellectual life of the colony, and one of its links with the science and literature of Europe; and he collected and bequeathed to Philadelphia the books which are still known as the Loganian Library.

He was born a Friend, a somewhat rare characteristic at that time. He was gracious and dignified in manner, and must have been the most important man in the Colony for a generation. He was the agent for the Proprietors; and in addition, at various times, mayor of Philadelphia, President of the Council, and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. In his later years he did not hold the Quaker view about all war; and he became less and less an active Friend. He was, necessarily, frequently at issue with the grasping and ungrateful proposals of the Assembly.* He was the greatest success among the agents and deputies selected by William Penn. He remained in public life till 1747, and his house at Stenton, now in the suburbs of

* These adjectives refer to the life-time of the Founder. Under his sons more is to be said for the Assembly and less for the Proprietors.

Philadelphia, is still standing. His regular correspondence with his employer, to whom his character and ability were of the highest value, forms the chief authority for Pennsylvanian affairs during the rest of the life of William Penn: but not an impartial authority by any means. American writers are rather more inclined than I am to sympathise with the Assembly and its leader David Lloyd, the Attorney General, in their attacks on the proprietary interest up to 1710. Much is explained if we remember that David Lloyd, (I had nearly added George to his name), was a Welshman, hot tempered, well able to talk, and not specially accurate, that Logan was an Ulster Scot, fierce, strong willed, dour and the type of efficiency, and that William Penn was an English gentleman, easy-going in money matters, and idealistic in his dealings with men.

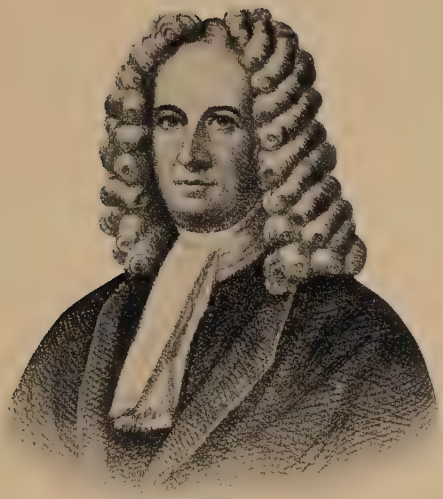
The great welcome which William Penn received may be gathered from Logan's report in a letter to William Penn Junior:

"The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome which thy father received from the most of the honester party here; Friends generally concluded that after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted anything more to render it completely happy. The faction that has long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received an universal damp. . .

"Directly from the wharf the governor went to his deputy's, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence, with a crowd attending, to meeting, it being about three o'clock on First Day afternoon, when he spoke on a double account to the people, and praying, concluded it. . . .

"Friends' love to the Governor was great and sincere; they had long mourned for his absence and passionately desired his return. He, they firmly believed, would compose all their difficulties and repair all that was amiss."

The two years—for it turned out to be no more—that William Penn was to spend among the woods of the Delaware were like a cool time of refreshment



JAMES LOGAN.
From an engraving in the Library of the Historical Society of Philadelphia.

after the dust and turmoil of his career in England. They were, however, full of the details of the landowning business. He proceeded to allay the standing quarrel between Markham, the Deputy Governor, and Colonel Robert Quarry, who represented the English Admiralty, and whose duty it was to see that no smuggling and no piracy were tolerated. Quarry had made the most, or more than the most, of all evil reports, being desirous on other grounds of upsetting the Quaker colonial government. But Markham's answers had apparently been considered satisfactory by the Admiralty.

Quarry stood aloof from calling on the Governor, but the latter sent Logan to him " with an inviting compliment," had a thoroughly intimate talk with him, said he believed that wrong proceedings had been allowed, but that he would lose no time in putting things right. In fact he promptly induced the Assembly to pass two bills against piracy and smuggling, and to carry them out.

There was more difficulty with David Lloyd, who was for having no peace with Quarry, and so found himself up against the Governor. " He knew not how to bend, " and his spirit was stirred to such an extent that he became the fierce opponent of the Proprietary interest for many years, and as a sort of Quaker demagogue caused constant friction.*

Penn attended twenty-two meetings of the Council that winter, and did much travelling also among Friends' meetings.

He had had built for himself a beautiful home, suitable to the quiet dignity of a colonial governor. It was called Pennsbury Manor, and was on the Delaware in Bucks County, some thirty miles above Philadelphia. The estate extended about two miles along the river front,

* Joseph S. Walton has a paper in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. III., pp. 47, 96, sympathetic to David Lloyd, and depreciating Logan's version of events. On the whole I do not find it entirely convincing.

and covered 6,000 acres of forest. Ten acres were cleared for the house and the gardens and fields. It was bounded by two creeks or tributary streams, one of which, Welcome Creek, nearly encircled it. In fact, at high water, Pennsbury was actually islanded.

The mansion had a modest frontage of sixty feet, and stood on an eminence overlooking the river. It was built of brick, two stories high, and extended forty feet back. It had a handsome porch, with pillars from England, carved in a grape and vine design. The unfortunate Quaker hostility to decoration had not yet become established. As one entered, there was a large hall for public occasions, council meetings and Indian receptions, a small hall and three wainscotted parlours, communicating in modern American fashion, by folding doors. The large cistern on the roof, by its leakage, contributed to the decay of the mansion, which is no longer standing. As Worminghurst on the Sussex Downs has gone too, and a railway runs where Ruscombe stood, we are without three of the happiest homes of William Penn.

A flight of steps led from the upper terrace down a poplar avenue to the lower walks by the river. Gardens and wide lawns surrounded the house, and vistas through the forest showed the Falls of Trenton upstream, and the river's course down. The owner had sent out from England walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, cherries and other fruit trees, and a great supply of valuable seeds and roots. He imported others from Maryland; and had sent over skilled gardeners from home. J. F. Fisher, from whose researches all biographers have drawn,* obtained from the Founder's grandson, John Penn, an inventory of the furniture at Pennsbury in 1701:—

"In the great hall was a long table, two forms, six chairs, a supply of pewter plates and dishes, with six vessels called cisterns, for holding water or beer. In the little hall, six leather

* Mem. Hist. Soc., Pa., III. part 2.

chairs and five maps. In the best parlour, two tables, one couch, two large and four small cane chairs, four cushions of satin and three of green plush. In the second parlour, one great leather chair, probably used by the governor, one clock and a pair of brasses. The four chambers on the second floor were well supplied with beds, bedding, chairs, tables, etc. In three of them were suits of curtains, the first of satin, the second of camlet, and the third of striped linen. The garret chambers were furnished with four beds, and in one of the chambers were deposited three side-saddles and two pillions. In the closet were two silk blankets and two damask curtains for windows."

Although pewter plates and dishes were used on common occasions, it appears that there was also

"A suit of Tunbridge-ware, besides blue and white china, some plate, and a large supply of damask table-cloths and napkins. Mahogany was not then known, and the spider tables and high-backed chairs were of solid oak or of the darker walnut."

Here the Indians came to him for counsel, and here it is said that he once entertained an Indian company with a hundred turkeys and other meats.

The stable held twelve horses, and there was a coach, a light trap and a Sedan chair. At the present time few country people in America are so poor as not to keep a horse and trap. Horses, harness and carriages are all simple and cheap. "To keep a carriage" is not the sign of wealth that it is in England.

The easiest way to Philadelphia was by barge, with its sail and six oarsmen. He always set great store by his boat—as befits a man of a seafaring family.

Traditions, supported by his account books, tell much of his kindnesses and charities. He was not a smoker and disliked the habit. But he was a delighted attender at fairs and Indian festivities, and did his hopping and jumping with the rest. His wife, who is described as a delicate, pretty woman, was well beloved, and performed all the duties of her station. The cash books show that the place was run by three men and four women servants.

He held meetings regularly every Sunday in the Hall at Pennsbury. Once when he was away visiting meetings, a little boy, his host's son at Merion, was naughty enough to creep up and peep through the keyhole of his bedroom, and was thunderstruck on seeing the Governor on his knees by his bedside, offering vocally thanks for his provision and safety in the wilderness.

It was common at this time to use slave labour freely, a fact which has had the direst consequences to America. The Society of Friends founded, financed, and largely worked the abolitionist movement, which was indeed their main service to America during the earlier half of the nineteenth century. How did this current and popular iniquity strike Penn and his contemporaries? He began by doing as other people did. In October, 1685, he writes to James Harrison that he had better employ three black labourers, " for then a man has them while they live." In December of the same year he writes :—" The blacks of Capt. Allen I have as good as bought, so part not with them without my order." Clearly he had not seen on his first visit the irremediable wrong of the whole system. Friends began, as usual, with trying to improve it and make it more tolerable to Christian men. George Fox, whose vision was often remarkably far reaching in new directions, told the Friends of Barbadoes as early as 1671 " to train up their slaves in the fear of God, to cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with them, and after certain years of servitude, they should make them free." Thus we catch a glimmer of the dawn, shining first on a high peak.

In 1688, Francis Daniel Pastorius, leader among the German Friends from Krisheim on the Rhine, who had founded Germantown, now a distant suburb of Philadelphia, brought, with the consent of his Monthly Meeting, the entire unlawfulness of slave-holding before Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. This was the beginning of the letting out of many waters. The Meeting was, as

was likely, divided in opinion and—as Friends' Meetings do in such cases—decided not to give a positive judgment. Pastorius went home to Germantown much discouraged. The story has been beautifully told by Whittier in his *Pennsylvania Pilgrim.* In 1693, the Keithian body protested against slavery, against buying negroes or keeping them after they had reasonably worked out the charges incurred for them.* By 1696, opinion among Friends had moved so far as discouraging the bringing in of any more negroes, and that their owners be careful of them, bring them to meetings, have meetings with them in their families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies, and from rambling abroad on First Days or other times." It was impossible to go on recognising the negro as a fellow Christian, and yet to hold him as a slave ; and the best men began to emancipate their slaves. The family relation among these human cattle showed up the wickedness of the system most vividly. To encourage stable family relations interfered with selling individuals away ; but breeding was to be encouraged. To check this degradation, William Penn in 1700 passed through the Council an Act for regularising the marriages of negroes ; but the Assembly threw it out. With Friends the Governor succeeded better, and the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia exhorted its members to bring their negroes to meeting on Sundays, and appointed a special meeting for them once a month, to which the masters were advised to come.

In 1701 Penn made a will which he left in Logan's hands, in which he wrote : " I give my blacks their freedom, as is under my hand already, and to old Sam one hundred acres to be his children's, after he and his wife are dead, for ever." It appears that this was not carried out by Logan, who wrote to Hannah Penn in 1721 : " The proprietor, in a will left with me at his

* " Quakers in American Colonies, p. 511.

departure hence, gave all his negroes their freedom, but this is entirely private ; however there are very few left." This will had been superseded.

" In 1705 the Assembly made certain crimes capital for blacks which were not for whites, but the same year they taxed the owners of imported negroes forty shillings per head." *

The politics of the province form the only unpleasing part of this two years' idyllic interval in America. We need not treat their somewhat sordid story with any completeness. There was the unending quarrel between the Province and the Territories, and there was revenue. William Penn asked for a tax of threepence in the pound to pay the expenses of the Government. This was refused, but an import on liquor yielding from £500 to £1,000 a year was granted. One can imagine that this was more on the lines of Friends' views than the other. William Penn did not agree with the new Frame of Government of 1696, and restored the old one of 1683, until there should be time to arrange for an entirely new one. The Assembly had many difficulties with their landlord, as has been the way of tenant and landlord always. They levied a tax to raise £2,000 for him, but it was not paid punctually. The Assembly demanded that he should sell his unsold land to new purchasers at the old price, notwithstanding the rise in value. They claimed commission rights and timber from the unsold land between Vine and South Streets. There were certain lots in the city proper which had been given to people who had not had ten per cent. of their original purchase within the city of Philadelphia, but had had it given in the liberties instead. An argument now arose as to whether the city lots were subject to quit rents. In return for land that had been taken for roads ten per cent. was added to the quantity of land that had been paid for. Another source of complaint was the delay in the granting of the legal patents for lands bought.

* Sharpless, " Quakers in American Colonies," p. 511.

The most ideal of colonies and the most placid and beautiful of countrysides have always plenty of questions of this kind in the background. We need not follow them out. The Governor was able to make a number of extended treaties with the Indians upon this visit. There he was in his element, but in August, 1701, he had to submit to the Assembly a letter from the English Government asking for £350 towards the erection of forts on the frontier of New York. The Assembly postponed the consideration of the request in view of the great sums lately assessed in taxes, and the arrears of quit-rents. They asked William Penn to assure the King of their willingness to obey him so far as their religious persuasion would permit.

Anxiety was never far absent from the proprietor and people of Pennsylvania as to the security of their autonomy under the Crown. They always had the local Church party against them, and when there was a war or a rumour of war they had the popular cry against them, reinforcing always the unslumbering hostility of the military party at home. It was the period of the Marlborough wars against France, and the North American colonies were thereby nearly always embroiled with the French colony in Canada. In 1701, the War of the Spanish Succession began, and a proposal was made in the House to annex all the proprietary governments to the Crown. William Penn, after two precious and useful years in Pennsylvania, had to return to England to save his province. A bill for annexing all the proprietary governments had been read twice in the House of Lords.

Before he left he signed the Charter of Privileges, the final form of the various Frames of Government which had been made since 1683. Under it the colony lived until the Revolution and the founding of the United States. It continued the principle of liberty of conscience. No one who believed in God was to suffer any persecution or prejudice, and all who believed in Jesus Christ, the Saviour

of the World, had full citizenship. If this be thought to be imperfect religious equality, it helps one's historic sense to remember that under the Commonwealth the penalty of death was (by statute) attached to disbelief in the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the bodily resurrection, the Day of Judgment, or the Bible being the word of God.* These provisions were to be secured for ever from alteration. A provision was included leaving it open to the province and the lower counties to separate if either of them chose to do so within the next three years. This they did very soon afterwards, the lower counties becoming the State of Delaware. A democratic Assembly was established under popular election. It had now power to originate and pass bills and sit on its own adjournments. A Council of State was nominated by the proprietor to hold office during the proprietor's pleasure, and their number was not fixed. They were to have henceforth no legislative power. William Penn nominated Andrew Hamilton, a former governor of New Jersey, to the post of Lieutenant-Governor in his absence, and ten more, chiefly Friends, to form the Council of State. The confirmation of all laws still remained with the King at home. On this

* The remarkable absence of Religious Toleration in the other American Colonies is summed up by Isaac Sharpless, in the *Friends' Intelligencer*, 4. xi. 1916, as follows:—"Massachusetts and Connecticut had their established Congregational churches. Membership was a necessary qualification to vote or hold office. Up to 1691 barbarous persecution of dissenters went on. Episcopalians, Baptists and Quakers were imprisoned and banished, and four especially troublesome members of the latter sect were hanged on Boston Common. In New York the Episcopal Church, though a small minority of the population, was established and supported by money collected from all, though the Dutch worship was protected by the Treaty of Breda. Catholics were banished. In New Jersey, after 1702, liberty of conscience was proclaimed except for Baptists and Quakers. In Maryland, which under Catholic rule had allowed large liberty of worship, the English Church was established in 1696, and the Catholics themselves disfranchised. Virginia allowed no dissent; all who did not bring their children to be baptised by the priests of the Established Church were subject to fine or imprisonment. Taking the Sacrament according to the rites of the same church was a necessary preliminary to a seat in the legislative Assembly in the Carolinas; while Georgia adopted the restrictions on Non-conformists established by the so-called Toleration Act of England.

occasion Penn had sent after him no fewer than a hundred and fourteen laws which had been passed during his stay. Great delays occurred constantly, and often the Attorney-General would require a large fee before passing an Act. Laws were often rejected or modified. They had, in fact, to suit the committee of Trade and Plantations at home, what we should now call the Colonial Office. The effect of the changes made since 1683 was to extend the power of the Assembly and make it the only legislative body, and to turn the Council into an executive merely.

Penn's Friends in England, aided by his son, thought they could stave off the bill of confiscation for that year, but said that nothing but his own presence could avoid its reintroduction the following year. He tried to induce Hannah and Letitia to stay behind, and await his intended return, but in vain. The Indians, hearing of his departure, came down in large numbers to bid their friend goodbye. The final dealings of the Assembly with him were merely attempts to get as much out of him in land concessions as possible. Some of the final arrangements have been mentioned above.

They sailed on 3rd November, 1701, and had a quick winter passage to England.

CHAPTER XXI

Further History of Pennsylvania

The proprietary Governments were an important group of colonies. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire were Puritan—so was Rhode Island, though there Friends had an influential position; they counted weightily also in West New Jersey, and in East New Jersey they were among the original settlers, and in some control. Pennsylvania they had founded, and Delaware they partially controlled. Maryland was a refuge for Catholics, and for that object enjoyed for a while complete religious toleration. The Carolinas had a body of aristocratic proprietors. In the long run, no doubt, some form of federation under the Empire, such as was indeed outlined by William Penn, must have come about. Unfortunately, it did actually come as an act of hostility to the Empire, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. The proprietary system, like the East India Company and later Chartered Companies, was a plan for encouraging enterprise and speculation in uninhabited lands, but it was not fitting that it should become permanent.

On this occasion the labours of Penn and others prevented the bill promoted by the Board of Trade and Plantations from being reintroduced. The controversy mainly ran on alleged disorders and maladministration, and Penn had "the unspeakable fatigue and vexation of following attendance, drafts of answer, conferences, counsel's opinions, hearings, etc., with the charge that follows them, guineas melting, four, five, six a week, and

sometimes as many in a day."* Col. Quarry came over from Pennsylvania, "to do us all the mischief he can." Under pressure the Companies which owned the Jerseys surrendered the duties of government to the Crown; "an ugly preface," Penn called it.

Deputy-Governor Hamilton died in April, 1703, and then his employer found from the Secretary to the Lords of Trade that he had all the time been using his position to attempt to destroy the Proprietary Government. "I could as soon have picked a pocket, or denied my friend or name," was Penn's commentary. Nevertheless, in his usual forgiving way, he obtained the postmastership for Hamilton's son.

The poverty of the generous hearted Governor during these years was pitiful, and grew worse. All the legal charges for the maintenance of the Charter he bore from his own pocket. The quit-rents were generally unpaid; on these he relied to pay the expenses of the Government of the colony. The meanness and greed of the colonists is a puzzling feature, treated on a later page. They were half of them Friends. By 1702, it was calculated by James Logan that half the population of the colony were in the city of Philadelphia—and that Friends accounted for one third of the city population and two-thirds of that of the country. One finds a difficulty in reconciling this conduct with the general probity of Friends and their undoubted love and veneration for their Governor when he was with them. "I believe there are not in the whole Assembly three men that wish ill to thee," wrote Logan. It may be fair to say that during the war of the Spanish Succession from 1701 onwards, the province was poor and everyone hit by the war. The disaffected colonists may have argued that as owner of the whole land and as Governor over them not of their appointing, it was his business as much

* Letter to Logan. Everything henceforth about Pennsylvania is from the Logan correspondence, copiously printed by Janney.

as theirs to pay the salaries of officials, and his own maintenance as governor. But that is no excuse for not paying a quit-rent one had agreed to pay.

That some thought they might come upon the Governor for everything is shown by the fact that at New Castle, on his way home, he received a letter from David Lloyd and another as executors of his good friend, Thomas Lloyd, asking him to pay compensation for Thomas Lloyd's services for nine years as lieutenant governor in the early days. The result of all this treatment was that every letter to his agent begs for money. "I never was so low and so reduced. For Ireland, my old principal verb, has hardly any money, England severe to her—no trade but hither—and at England's mercy for prices (save butter and meat to Flanders and the West Indies)." An example of keeping trade and raw materials within the Empire—the old mercantile system. Note the effect on the exchange of crippling Irish exports. Ireland had hardly any money. The exchange against Ireland was from twenty to twenty-six per cent. A portion of the Irish property had now to be paid to his son William, and it was mortgaged besides.

William was, from this time, his father's greatest sorrow. While his father had been away he had fallen into drink and debauchery. He was still young in that path, and might be reformed by kindliness and influence, it was hoped, as other young society rakes had been. His debts were an additional drain on his father. Letitia married, soon after she came home, a merchant named William Aubrey, who comes into this narrative chiefly on account of the rudeness and the bullying methods—his father-in-law's own phrase—with which he pressed for his wife's dowry. The central fraud of all, that of the Fords, his trusted agents, matured later, but was dragging upon him now.

He had promised to send his son William to Pennsylvania as his representative, and did so, hoping for his

reform, as fathers will; and he wrote to Logan and to the leading Friends to keep in touch with him and use gentle persuasive methods. But Governor Evans, the young man whom he sent over at the same time, proved to be William's boon companion and built the same way. They arrived together in February, 1704 (new style).

Unfortunately, Pennsylvania was never to see its founder again. If a Friend of weight and character could have been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and if the Society of Friends had predominated in the population, and if there had been none of the complications due to the empire's wars, its story might have been one of peace and happiness seldom realised on earth; but the Lieutenant-Governor had to be someone who did not mind receiving and carrying out military instructions and trying to levy war taxes. The position was not well paid nor very dignified; it was one of continual worry and some risk.

John Evans was only twenty-six. Hamilton had done his best to enlist a company of soldiers. The drums beat but only a few inconsiderable people responded. The second muster was a complete failure, the Anglican opponents of the Quakers having reached the conclusion that if they voluntered in this way it would only confirm the Quaker government in the good books of the ministry at home. They therefore refused to volunteer from reasons opposite to that of Friends. The question of oaths constituted another difficulty at the provincial court. The Quaker judges, who were in a majority, in spite of the refusal of their colleagues to sit with them on the bench, and of the Attorney-General to prosecute, proceeded without oaths taken, by either jury or witnesses. Great disturbances arose, fomented by Colonel Quarry. William Penn in England defended his friends, as the author of the "Treatise on Oaths" would be sure to do. But Quarry obtained an order from the Queen requiring all persons to take or

administer the oaths required by the law of England or the affirmation allowed to Quakers, that is to say that the practice of the colony was to be assimilated to that of the mother country. This was not an unreasonable regulation. The difficulty was that it required Quaker judges to admit other persons to take oaths. The Council submitted to Quarry, but Penn advised that the instruction should be disregarded.

William Penn's own sympathies would almost always have been essentially with the Quaker Assembly in their quarrels with the Lieutenant-Governors, except in matters of finance. Outwardly, however, a quarrel with the Lieutenant-Governor meant a quarrel with the Governor behind him, who was also the ground-landlord of the colony. It does not seem unreasonable that William Penn should expect that the colonists would pay the expenses of their government, but when he asked them to do this, and to pay £200 which he owed for Hamilton's salary, they adjourned and excused themselves and passed laws for securing and confirming their privileges, quite in the manner of the Long Parliament. For their excuse it may be remembered that they had been brought up in the school of opposition to all governments. David Lloyd, the Welshman, was the acrimonious leader of the Assembly, of which he was the Speaker. He was the unceasing enemy of the proprietor, a democrat who had got into the wrong place. On the other hand, Evans, running counter to his employer's view, declared void the proceedings of the courts where the Queen's order about oaths had not been obeyed. He also organised a militia, promised that those who enlisted should be exempted from the duty of watch and ward, that is from the duty of special constables, who maintained order in the city. This led to a brawl at a tavern between militia officers and watchmen, or special constables, and the next night William Penn junior was there when the watch came round, and assisted in beating them off.

Governor Evans was engaged in another brawl, in which the Mayor, the Recorder, and Alderman Wilcocks came to the assistance of the watchmen, and Wilcocks seems to have beaten the Lieutenant-Governor more severely on account of his responsible position. In October, 1704, David Lloyd, using irregularly the name of the Assembly,* wrote " a most virulent unmannerly invective " to William Penn, attacking both him and his deputies ; and this was enclosed in a letter to such Friends in England as William Mead, who were known to be unfriendly to William Penn, a device to make as much trouble as possible for the man to whom they owed all they had. The disturbances which followed upon this brought a reaction in favour of the Governor, and a letter was sent to him in 1705, declaring the signatories' abhorrence of David Lloyd's paper, and assuring him of their readiness to support all the charge of government. This was signed by a great body of Friends who roused themselves to an energetic political canvass, and the next Assembly were all Friends except one, and well-affected towards their Founder. They set about to collect the arrears of quit-rents that were due to him, and they appropriated £1,400 to pay the Lieutenant-Governor's salary and other public charges. Evans's next escapade was to forge a letter from the Governor of Maryland announcing that privateers were off the Virginian capes. He also arranged that a man should ride up in great haste from New Castle to frighten the citizens with the tale that six French ships had bombarded New Castle, and were making up the river. By this means he hoped that sufficient Quakers would respond to a call to arms to show up the inconsistency of their behaviour. Evans summoned all those who would, to defend themselves. Half a dozen young Quakers took their guns, but it being Meeting Day, the meeting was held as usual, and Friends remained steadfast and quiet. James Logan took a boat down the river and exploded the falsehood.

* Janney, pp. 485-6.

Evans next summoned a special session of the Assembly and threw upon it the responsibility for not defending the province. They replied that they believed they were quite safe, and that Virginia and Maryland, "which are more ancient settlements and close to the seaboard, have no fortifications, so that we are no worse than they." Evans next arranged that every ship that went by the New Castle fort on the way to the ocean should pay powder money. A Quaker merchant named Richard Hill went down on his own ship, refused to stop to pay the toll, and was fired upon from the fort at New Castle, which it will be remembered was in Delaware, not in Pennsylvania. The ship was uninjured and, hotly pursued by boats, put over to Salem in New Jersey, whose Governor severely resented the action of Evans. By this act Richard Hill broke down the intended imposition.

James Logan was a faithful land-agent for the Penn family property in Pennsylvania, but with such clients as he had he could hardly be popular. The Assembly desired the Judges to be popularly elected. He advised that courts be re-established under the right granted by charter to William Penn. This caused the Assembly to impeach him in February, 1707, but Governor Evans decided that he could not try such a case.

As early as 1703, we find that Penn had lost hope of finally retaining his Government in the colony; and was in treaty with the Queen's ministers to sell it to them; thus obtaining money to pay his debts, and being relieved of the perpetual drain of the expenses of governing the province, and of fighting against its enemies in London. This course had the, no doubt, regretful approval of James Logan, and of some of the best Friends in Philadelphia, who wished to give their Friend and Founder a quieter life. He would remain the landowner and be able to come and live a happy and useful life at Pennsbury.

But Penn would not sell the Government to the Queen unless upon conditions which would guarantee

to the colonists the constitution and liberties they possessed under him. To buy out a Lord Proprietor was a welcome proposal to English statesmen, but to give away the free hand of sovereign power was quite another thing, particularly with a mild penal code, a democratic assembly, an objection to oaths and to an established Church, and a dogged resistance to military grants, as the chief characteristics of the colonial government. So the negotiations made little progress. For the next nine years Penn was carrying on a transaction, counter to his own interest, for the sake of the colonists and the future of his great scheme. The office of the Lords of Trade kept up friendly relations with the Governor, who must have been its frequent visitor. The officials once advised buying out the holdings of the Anglican faction, which Penn thought four Friends could do—and once talked of removing Quarry, whose "foul practices" and those of his "venomous adherents" brought strong words to the lips of the patient Governor. Ultimately, Quarry received a reprimand from the Board of Trade. This made him more friendly and submissive.. He professed friendship to the Governor and became his tenant for Pennsbury, where he resided at £40 a year. The low rent may have been due to the fact that he undertook to vacate it at six months' notice if Penn returned. One notes too, that Penn, the incorrigible optimist, the man of charity and hope, begins to write of "the false wisdom of the low and miserable world." "What shall we say of this wretched world?" The humiliating episode of the behaviour of William Penn, Jun., in the colony ended by his return, in great indignation with Friends for dealing with him, and with the Government for prosecuting him, in January, 1705. The loss of his son's soul Penn put down to the heavy account of what Pennsylvania had cost him, He thought that if he had not been away from him from 1699 to 1701, he might have saved him from demoralisation.

The Assembly of 1707 made an attack upon Logan which failed, as previously mentioned, but an attack which succeeded upon Governor Evans. Both attacks were promoted by David Lloyd because these men were the pillars of the Proprietor's interest: but Logan's armour could not be pierced, while Evans's unfortunately was full of weak places. They drew up a Remonstrance addressed to the Proprietor, reciting Evans's sins, his immoral conduct and that of his retinue among the Indian families on a visit to Conestoga, his refusal to pass a Judiciary bill to make the Judges popularly elected, his impositions upon trade by the tax at New Castle—his militia proceedings—his tavern licences—his "false alarm"—his licences for privateering, his maltreating the constable at the midnight row—and so forth. This was cunningly sent to the leading Friends, George Whitehead, William Mead and Thomas Lower, with instructions to present it to Penn and to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

These Friends visited the Governor, and told him that unless he put in a new Deputy Governor they would have to carry the matter forward to the Lords of Trade. Penn had no case for refusal, and thought it kinder to Evans to dismiss him than to let his faults be magnified before the Government. The strength of the David Lloyd party in the Assembly would be incomprehensible if we forgot that Penn's friends were always being let down or given away by the Deputy Governor.

The Remonstrance of 1704, about the Government of the Province, illegally signed by David Lloyd on behalf of the Assembly, lost at sea, and then reproduced in duplicate, had excited the attention of certain Friends in London far more than it ought to have done. It was referred to in the Remonstrance of 1707. Isaac Norris, of Philadelphia, was, happily, in London, probably on the Ford business, and when he saw that Friends like Thomas Lower and

William Mead,* never very friendly to Penn, were inclined to be influenced by it against him, he was able to tell them the whole discreditable story. George Whitehead and the two Friends named, however, suggested to Penn that he should write to strengthen the good forces in the colony, which he promptly did, to satisfy them and make clearness clear.

He still hoped to go and live and die in Pennsylvania ; for care of Friends, and

" settling plantations for my poor minors ; for planters, God willing, they shall be in their father's country, rather than great merchants in their native land ; and to visit Friends throughout the continent, at least their chiefest business."

Happily the failure of these hopes for his children did not come in his time.

A better story than Evans's might have been hoped for from the next Governor, Charles Gookin, a respectable officer in the army, who undertook the government in February of 1709. The conflict between James Logan and David Lloyd flamed out seriously at this time however, and the Assembly, under Lloyd's direction, was more than ever quarrelsome, not, Isaac Norris says, due to the Quaker influence, " but to Keithians and to those who stand fast and loose with Friends," that is to nominal members. In November Logan sailed for England, although the Assembly, as mentioned before, attempted to arrest him and put him in gaol to prevent his departure. He was tried in England and triumphantly acquitted.

Happily this is the last factious session which we have to record. The Assembly of 1710 was composed of entirely different men : not a single old member retained his seat. The sober friends of Penn had bestirred themselves over the election, and every one elected was friendly

* This was his old colleague at the trial of Penn and Mead in 1670. He had married Sarah Fell, daughter of Margaret Fox, and he was a leading Friend, though apparently he died out of love with them. (Joseph Smith's Catalogue.)

to him. Richard Hill, the leading Friend, was Speaker. Order, harmony and the prompt despatch of business characterised the proceedings. Isaac Norris was a prominent member, David Lloyd removed to Chester. Between the elections and the business sessions a beautiful document of expostulation was received from the Governor. It is long to print here in full, but I am loth to omit it. Clarkson and Janney both print it complete. It gives in clear and summary form a view of the situation as it had been.

"London, 29th 4th mo. 1710.

"My Old Friends!—It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have had occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

"When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas, as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble and poverty.

" For this reason, I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees, (for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has interest there is, or must be, concerned in them by their effects). I must therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been doing ; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions, and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest, which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent both here and there : I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted anything of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as are fit for me to join with.

" Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavoured to form such a model of government as might make all concerned in it easy ; which, nevertheless, was subject to be altered as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable. The numbers of members, both in the council and assembly, were much too large. Some other matters also proved inconsistent with the king's charter to me ; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties (the territories) were brought in, it was well known at that time to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

" Upon this they had another charter passed, *nemine contradicente*, which I always desired might be continued while you yourselves would keep up to it, and put it in practice ; and many there know how much it was against my will, that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But, after this was laid aside, (which indeed was begun by yourselves in Colonel Fletcher's time,) I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges that were found convenient for your good government ; and, if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my

approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But, though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name to a licentiousness: the design of government is to preserve good order, which may be equally broke in upon by the turbulent endeavours of the people as well as the overstraining of powers in a governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it that any other assembly has in the queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power to meet at all times during the year, without the governor's concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money has been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of; particularly the appointment of judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the province and government in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But, seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the government out of the governor's hands and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the crown if the administration should fail and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers; because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against

granting anything of this kind that were asked of me with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe the contentions that have been raised about these matters have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire, notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public, (which, I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them,) I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation ; the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them ; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate ; resolves past in the assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of government ; my lands entered upon without any regular method ; my manors invaded, (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them,) and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here ; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found ; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country ; to all which I cannot but add the violence that has been particularly shown to my secretary ; of which (though I shall by no means protect him in anything he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me as he had been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his persecutors ; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration. In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for and disappointments from that province ; I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things ; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing upon themselves, who,

instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

"Friends! the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy; but, to see the use you make of them is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive either the sense or meaning. What are the distresses, grievances, and oppressions, that the papers, sent from thence, so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the queen's dominions.

"Is it such a grievous oppression, that the courts are established by my power, founded on the king's charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs, (for I believe the late assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them,)* and I am freely content you should have any law that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers' fees are not settled by an act of assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself. Do, therefore allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and, I hope, my lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression that licences for public-houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that business I find is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that it is in my power to remedy, (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such), I should be as ready, on my part, to remove them, as you to desire it; but according to the

* David Lloyd.

best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen, (and you once thought I had a pretty good one), I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say, that I fear the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there, to the great mercies of God hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and, by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, into calamities, reduce those that have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented, to a true, but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all; I doubt not, many of you have been burdened at, and can by no means join in, the measures that have been taken; but, while such things appear under the name of an assembly that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

"I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must at length force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances in relation to that province. In the mean time I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other; for from the next assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election be so declared, and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end, our relation in the truth having but the same true interest.

"I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just proprietor and governor,

"WILLIAM PENN."

The Assembly made a proper provision for the expenses of government. In 1711, on a demand for a war grant, the Assembly voted £2,000 for general purposes to the Queen.

In 1712, they passed an Act, on Quaker lines, heavily taxing the importation of negroes or Indians. Unfortunately, the Home Government, not being on Quaker lines, vetoed it. The trade interest in the traffic in slaves was too strong in England. The penalty for this wickedness and greed, in the settlement of a slave population in the Southern States, in the great war of the sixties, and in the race problem of the future, is written in type as large as that of most of the lessons of history. Yet there are people still who think that Quakers are impracticable idealists, and that immediate trade interests alone are what sober and sensible people should consider. The tax of £20 per head on imported slaves passed by the Assembly was in fact prohibitive, and was imposed after the request of a Friend named William Southeby for the total abolition of slavery. It was about the middle of the eighteenth century before Friends officially, under the influence of John Woolman, Anthony Benezet and Benjamin Lay, pronounced against slavery altogether. Woolman's " Considerations on the keeping of Negroes " came out in 1754. In 1758 the Yearly Meeting committed itself to the Anti-Slavery crusade, which proved to be the work of a hundred years. By the time of the Revolutionary War they had persuaded all their members to fall into line, except a few who were finally disowned.*

Oldmixon, a strong supporter of the Revolution, in his " Account of the British Empire in America," (1708) gives us an unbiassed view of the troubles between Penn and his colonists, thus :—

" We shall not enter into any enquiries into the causes of the trouble that has been given Mr. Penn lately about the Province

* Isaac Sharpless, " Quakers in American Colonies," chap. VII.

of Pennsylvania: it appears to us, by what we have heard of it from others, for from himself we never had any information concerning it, that he has been involved in it by his bounty to the Indians, his generosity in minding the public affairs of the Colony more than his own private ones, his humanity to those who have not made suitable returns, his confidence in those who have betrayed him, and the rigour of the severest equity, a word that borders the nearest to injustice of any. 'Tis certainly the duty of this Colony to maintain the Proprietary, who has laid out his all for the maintenance of them, in the possession of his territory; and public gratitude ought to make good what they reap the benefit of."*

Richard Hill was during these years the leading Quaker and friend of the proprietor of the colony. Gookin, who grew queer, accused him of intending to proclaim the Pretender as King. Logan wrote to England urging that Gookin be removed and his place filled by Colonel Keith, a Scotchman who inherited a baronetcy during his governorship and became Sir William Keith, controlling the affairs of Pennsylvania for nine years beginning in May, 1717. But we have now reached the time when William Penn's troubled life came to an end, and we need not carry further the local politics of Pennsylvania. At this time it is estimated that there were forty thousand Europeans in the colony, of whom one half belonged to the Society of Friends. Philadelphia was a city of ten thousand population. Clarkson gives a population of 60,000 in Penn's dominions, probably including the territories, now Delaware. None of the proprietor's descendants who inherited Pennsylvania were Friends. They became merged in the ranks of the aristocracy, and the maintenance of the principles of the founder lay with the Quaker Assembly.

The affairs of the colony settled down into a more peaceful habit than in the troubled years we have recently recounted. David Lloyd who, from 1711 onwards con-

* Clarkson, II., p. 299.

tinued to take a prominent place in public affairs, signed the affectionate memorial to William Penn which Friends sent after his death. He became friendly with Logan as both grew old, and helped him in elucidating the proprietary title to the Lower Counties, which included his home at Chester.* Year by year a Quaker majority existed in the Assembly, even when the Friends fell to about one-seventh of the population. The colony surpassed all the other older colonies in prosperity. The same men were elected without contest year by year in much peace and quietness. Pennsylvania in the colonial period must have been one of the happiest places that have ever existed as the home of man on the restless planet. Much of this tranquillity was aided by the fact that Great Britain was not at war with France for much of this period. When war began in 1744 troubles began too.

The Seven Years War, which began in 1756, finally crippled William Penn's Holy Experiment. The church party and military party at home were attempting to pass an act imposing the oath for all colonial assemblies, which would have had the effect of a Test Act, and excluded Friends. Leading Friends in London, under the guidance of Dr. John Fothergill, thought that this could be avoided if Friends in Pennsylvania consented to resign their seats in the Assembly and no longer attempted to control the policy of the colony. They decided that this was the lesser of two evils. and most of them retired from the Assembly and undertook to abandon politics. However judicious such a course was felt to be at the time, it resulted in disaster to the Society of Friends in divorcing it from a share in public affairs.

At the close of the colonial period, about 1760, there were 20,000 people in Philadelphia and 200,000 in the Province.† It was second only to New England in size.

* Janney, p. 556.

† Anderson, "Historical and Chronological Deductions of the Origin of Commerce," quoted by Clarkson, II., p. 423.

Alone among the colonies, its paper money, cautiously issued and well secured, never depreciated.

The mild penal code of 1682 confined the death penalty to murder and treason. So far as is known there was only one execution, and that for murder, before 1700. Penn disliked even so much use of the despairing penalty of death; but he appears to have been influenced by the text, "Whoever shall shed man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Under his own guidance he saw "the wickedness of exterminating, where it was possible to reform." He required two witnesses, proof of clear premeditation, and the sanction of the Executive, before execution. In 1718, the year of his death, a political bargain with the English government was made, by which affirmations were sanctioned throughout, instead of oaths; but some dozen offences were added to the capital list. The Assembly were clearly some way behind Penn in this matter. When, after the Revolution, the State regained complete autonomy, it restored Penn's original law, and has kept it. It also carried out Penn's second principle that prisons should be workshops. Clarkson, who was an expert in philanthropic work of this kind, wrote in 1813 that Pennsylvania was the only state in the world with a really enlightened penal code.

We may sum up the results of the Holy Experiment at the cost of a little repetition.

This great attempt to conduct a state without an army or fleet, with no class distinctions dependent on status as was the case in Virginia and the Carolinas, entirely democratic, the home of religious liberty, without an established church, open to all mankind without distinction of nationality, with a humane penal code, and with a daring application of Christianity to the treatment of natives, this "holy experiment," achieved its century of success in spite of the outside difficulties we have recorded. These do not take away from the proved efficiency of Christian principles,

though they debarred the Founder from the advantage of laboratory conditions.

The British Empire was engaged during most of the colony's formative and difficult years in two long wars with France, the war of the Grand Alliance, and the war of the Spanish Succession, covering with brief intervals the whole active life of William Penn after the Revolution. Moreover France was the rival power in America, and wars against the French in Canada and their allied Indians were part of the European struggle. The threat to unify the British command by taking away his Government was always hanging over Penn; and was, for two years, actually carried out. The contest with the demands of the Imperial connection did in fact so discourage Penn, that nothing but an unexpected stroke of paralysis at the nick of time saved the proprietary Government in 1712.

An even more disastrous consequence of this perilous tenure was that it kept William Penn in London for long periods of years; so that he only spent two periods of two years each on the Delaware. He had to be on his defence at headquarters. This gave the opportunity to faction, which lowered its flag always to the proprietor and father of the country, but thought little of deputies.

The difficulty of the narrative is to account for the behaviour of the settlers in his absence, seeing that, to begin with, the colonists were all Friends, who owed the peace of their homes and freedom from persecution to their beloved Friend William Penn. On this point we may say:—

Firstly, that very soon others began to come: Anglicans, who thought Friends a queer common lot of people and complained of persecution, which they frankly defined as a refusal of the superior standing they held in England: Presbyterians from Scotch families in Ulster, a dogmatic race, whose Calvinism was the antithesis of the benignant Quaker faith in the light and grace

within. These men in after years made Indian troubles by a policy of violence and robbery, quoting Joshua and "driving out the heathen that the saints might possess the land."

Secondly, there were the Keithians, a term in common use: separatist Friends whose theology was more Presbyterian or Anglican than Quaker, and who hated William Penn and the Friends they had left. Logan wrote in 1706, "It is the very leaven of George Keith left among the people at his separation, and now fermenting up again; and these proceedings are contrary to the minds of honest Friends, as appears by their letter of 1705."

Thirdly, the desire not to pay quit-rents, not to pay for the expenses of government, and to plunder a landlord, is a quality of the human nature of certain people, apart altogether from religious affiliation.

Fourthly, it is plain that when roused to political activity by a sense of right, loyal Friends had control when they chose to exercise it. Witness the revulsions of 1705 and 1710, the steady government and absence of party spirit for thirty years after that date, and the general wisdom of the Assembly so long as it lasted.

The presence of a British Court of Admiralty, under Colonel Quarry, a hotbed of slander constantly pouring in to the Home Government; and the difficulty about Friends administering oaths, were other troubles which had to be overcome.

When the Seven Years War set Great Britain and France into their central conflict for dominance on the American continent, it was found that the only way to keep the Charter was for Friends to withdraw voluntarily from the position of a majority in the Assembly. Their methods and policy were, however, continued by their successors, elected by the same votes as before, and the essential control remained on William Penn's lines till the Revolution swept away the separateness of Pennsylvania, and merged the colonies into the Federation of the

United States. If the advice of the Pennsylvanian Friends had been followed, it is believed that that war, due again to the Tory Imperialism of British politicians, might have been avoided. But the foolish raid on tea-chests in Boston harbour threw that hope away.

It will be well to conduct the story of the Founder's Indian policy further, though it is not (happily) part of his biography.

There was nothing original about Penn's way of land purchase. It was already the established practice on the Delaware and in the other colonies. But it was the honesty and friendliness with which it was done that made all the difference. Penn did not make the Indians drunk, nor cheat them with false maps or false weights, nor kill them nor steal from them, nor ignore any claim for ownership. Unfortunately, his descendants and the Scotch-Irish colonists were unscrupulous, and caused the two Indian wars of the colonial period. So long as James Logan lived, that is, till 1751, he managed the Indians on his old master's lines.

But before that the seeds of trouble had been sown. Thomas Penn, the son of the founder, and the active Governor of the Province, desired in 1737 to sell and develop the hereditary lands of the Minisink Indians, a branch of the Delawares, north of the junction of the Lehigh River with the Delaware. There was said to be an old agreement made by William Penn which gave him land extending north from the limit of previous ownership as much as a man could walk in a day and a half. This was a well understood standard. An ordinary group of whites and Indians walked through the brush, stopped for lunch, clambered over creeks, and did their twenty miles through the forest in a day. This would have taken them to the intended place where the rivers met. But Thomas Penn wanted to sell land north of this; on which settlers indeed already squatted. He had abandoned Quakerism and all his father's idealism. He decided to cheat. Two athletes

INDIAN WALK MONUMENT AT WRIGHTSTOWN, BUCKS CO., PENNSYLVANIA.

The stones are placed at the spot where the Indian Walk of September 19, 1737, began

(See page 288.)

were trained, a path was cut beforehand, boats were ready at the fords, horses carried food and camp utensils. They covered sixty miles; and then they drew a line slanting still further north. So much for cleverness. The Indians, whose ancestral home was there, did not move. The Quaker Assembly refused to help the Governor to move them. So he brought in the Minisinks' overlords, the terrible Iroquois of New York. They, corrupted, and flattered by consultation, told their dependents or subjects that they had no right to make treaties at all, and sent them off westwards, in 1742. They left their lands, cherishing wrath in their hearts. Other oppressions followed; and in 1754, the proprietors bought nearly the whole of Western Pennsylvania, not from them but from the Iroquois. The French were there to promise aid and fan their ancient anger; and when Braddock was defeated by the French at Fort Du Quesne, the frontiers of Pennsylvania flamed for the first time in war. It was over the question of supplies for this war that the attempt to exclude Friends from the legislature led to their resignation in a body in 1756.

They were now free to take up their proper work of peace. "The Friendly Association for gaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures" was formed, and the requisite money was subscribed, far in excess of war taxes. The Governor and his Council offered, instead of the Indian presents customary in time of peace, rewards for male and female Indian scalps. But now conferences began. The northern Delawares under their great chief Tedyuscung, and supported by Israel Pemberton and a good company of Friends, made many speeches. They were at Easton, on "Walking Purchase" land. "This very land," and he stamped his foot, "was taken from me by fraud." Another conference was held next year, Tedyuscung agreeing on condition that Friends were present. Through their help he insisted on the presence of a shorthand clerk, and

chose for that duty the master of the Friends' School. A third year they held a still larger conference; Tedyuscung obtained some sort of compensation for the Walking Purchase, and other presents from the Friendly Association. Similar methods prevailed in the West. The Association lent the Assembly money, and goods went to the Indians at Pittsburgh. It cost Friends £5,000.

The "Paxton Boys" were a set of Scotch-Irish colonists on the Susquehanna, in the neighbourhood of Lancaster. Near them, in 1763, dwelt the remains of a tribe of Conestoga Indians, much thinned by European vices and diseases, and chiefly women and children. These, for no very cogent reason, they massacred, and yet remained secure in the support of their neighbours. They now threatened the same fate to a band of Indians converted by the Moravians, and moved for safety into Philadelphia. The Ulstermen marched, several hundred strong, and encamped at Germantown, some ten miles from the centre of the city. The town flew to arms, some young Friends included; and the Meeting House, the day being cold, was used as a rendezvous, and by bizarre happening, the guns were stacked in the ministers' gallery. No actual force was needed with these heroes. Franklin conferred with them, Governor John Penn, the grandson of the Founder, promised them rewards for Indian scalps, and they bounced back home.

The reader now has both sides of the shield, and material for drawing his own conclusions about the colony.*

* These incidents are in all the histories. They are most ably and clearly treated in the books of Isaac Sharpless and Howard M. Jenkins, noted in the preface.

CHAPTER XXII

The Fords

During the troubled years recorded early in the last chapter we must think of William Penn once more going about the Court freely and transacting much business with the Government offices. The death of William III. and the accession of Anne in 1702, made him once more welcome in the royal circle; for Anne, like her sister Mary, did not forget her father's friend. On his return from America, he was for a while in lodgings at Kensington. In 1703 he took a house at Knightsbridge, Hyde Park; thence he moved in 1706 out to a house a mile from Brentford. Worminghurst had been sold at a good price. In 1705 we find him apologising for not being able to write much or to write himself, because his hand is affected by what he is told is incipient gout. He was then sixty-one years old. But we find him writing a little, doing prefaces to a few books, issuing *More Fruits of Solitude*, and travelling in the ministry in the West of England.

We now reach the worst, and happily the last, of the money troubles caused by fraud and meanness acting upon a generous and trustful disposition. His affairs had for many years been in the hands of Philip Ford, a Friend of Bristol, as lawyer and land agent. This man, who had a good reputation and manner, had developed into a first-class rogue. On the psychology of an early Quaker rogue one might, at an earlier date, have said,

> "And now Robert Browning, you writer of plays,
> Here is a subject made to your hand."

This fraud had had something to do with the chronic want of money felt for years. In 1702, Philip Ford died. Immediately his widow, Bridget, a terror of a woman, though always confined to her bed, and her son Philip, who did what she told him, presented her husband's astonished employer with an account for £14,000, for immediate payment, on pain of losing his whole property in Pennsylvania. The reader will know what this would feel like, on the top of the financial burdens which were already more than he could carry. He had never checked Ford's accounts, and had signed in full confidence whatever he was asked to sign, by his Quaker man of business. When needing money to go to America in 1699, he unfortunately borrowed £2,800 from Ford, and gave him—avowedly as a mere matter of form—what Penn believed to be a mortgage on the colonial property. But it was really a deed of sale, so that when he went to his province he went in fact to what was no longer his own. He had sold it to Ford according to the deed, and had it leased back to him at a rental. How the evil household at Bristol must have chuckled as they thought of their dupe playing at being landlord and Governor, and they biding their time. Many payments passed through the firm's hands both ways, and Penn, speaking from memory and general impressions, thought the £2,800 had been about repaid, when the account of £14,000 was pressed.

Henry Goldney and Herbert Springett, a relative of Guli's, men of legal experience, came to his aid. More by good luck than any care on his own part, "through Providence, rather than by my carefulness," a complete set of accounts was found among his papers by Penn. He had actually never opened them. The papers revealed that:

(1) The Fords had charged interest on all their advances, but had allowed none on their receipts—a very simple form of extortion.

(2) They had charged eight per cent. interest, instead of the legal six per cent.

(3) They had charged compound interest, posting it up every six months or oftener, even when, on balance, they held Penn's money.

(4) On payments in and out they had charged two-and-a-half per cent. commission, instead of the usual half per cent., and the swollen interest payments were also charged this five-times-too-large agent's commission.

(5) When any land was sold by Penn, they took the money to themselves, as if the land were theirs. Penn sold a lot for £2,000 and sent Ford £615 to liquidate his debt. This appears in the account as a loan by Ford to Penn of £1,385, subject to commission and eight per cent. compound interest.

It transpired on examining the accounts that Ford had received £17,859 on account of Penn, and had paid out £16,200 ; leaving a net receipt by Ford, commissions apart, of £1,659. This he had by the above jerrymandering changed to a net sum of £14,000 due to him. The excess charges on interest and commission were found to amount to £9,697 ; leaving £4,303 of the demands. Penn offered to settle it at this sum ; but they refused and relied on their deed of sale. To avoid scandal and waste, and in accordance with the sound practice of Friends, Penn in 1705 proposed arbitration, either by Friends or others. But this—very naturally—the rogues refused. Penn reminded the widow of the words of her husband which had been spoken in her presence, about the formal nature of the deed of mortgage, now found to be a deed of sale. She cared nothing for that, but would have her bond. The matter went to Chancery, and of course the deed was found to be sound, and a common law action for £2,000 of " rent " under the " lease " with heavy costs was won by the Fords. Thus emboldened, Ford went with a constable to Gracechurch Street Meeting and tried to arrest

William Penn in the ministers' gallery, during worship. They were stopped by Henry Goldney and Herbert Springett coming out, and inducing them to wait awhile, by promising that he would come to them shortly. He did so, and then, on legal and friendly advice, went in January, 1708 (new style) into the Fleet prison as a debtor rather than suffer villainy to succeed. Thus was one of the foremost men of the time lodged in his old age in a debtor's prison.

The feeling roused was great. His lodgings in the Old Bailey were comfortable, and he received his Friends and held Meetings for Worship. Sidney Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, thought the Government might lend him £7,000 for the service of the colony, to be repaid in nine years. Meantime, young Ford went over to Pennsylvania and made a dire and dangerous conjunction with the other evil stars, Quarry and David Lloyd. He fomented disloyalty, and returned to England threatening disturbance if the colony were not admitted to be his. He circularised the owners of land, threatening them if they paid anything to Logan. Evans behaved with loyalty and success in opposition to this attack upon his employer. The Fords did not stick at petitioning the Queen for a new charter, "ordering obedience to Governor Philip or to Governor Bridget," mocked Isaac Norris in a letter to Logan. But a check came. Lord Chancellor Cowper gave a judgment against them on the new charter question, and lectured them with extreme severity. They began to be afraid. Another fraud was found. Ford had credited himself with having paid £1,200 into the stock of the Society, whereas he had only paid £500. The overcharge, including Ford's way of adding interest, amounted to £3,249. This deducted from £4,303, left only £1,054 owing. Both sides were now willing to settle. Friends, including Thomas Callowhill his father-in-law, raised £6,800, for which they took a mortgage on the Province, and Ford and his mother

accepted this amount of booty as a settlement. Penn's legal advisers did it for him, and then obtained his acquiescence for the sake of peace. He left the Old Bailey for his home at Brentford in December 1708, after eleven months confinement. The courage and calm he had shown under these troubles struck everyone. Isaac Norris, his chief friend in Philadelphia, writes when over in London: "The more he is pressed, the more he rises. He seems of a spirit to bear and rub through difficulties; and, as thou observes, his foundation remains." Thomas Callowhill writes: "Neither he nor my daughter sinks under it, but from the Divine power have supports to their spirits." James Logan writes: "One would think there was almost a commission granted, as against Job, for his trial; for such an accumulation of adversaries has seldom been known to attack a man that so little deserved them. It must be confessed that something of it all is owing to his easiness and want of caution." "I bless the Lord, I am yet upon my rock, a lasting foundation," writes Penn.

CHAPTER XXIII

Last Days

In 1709 Penn wrote an account of the *Life and Writings of Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke*, prefixed to Whitlocke's "Memorials of English Affairs, from the supposed expedition of Brute to this Island, to the death of James I." Whitlocke was one of the lawyers of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth, who figures largely among the sources in Carlyle's Cromwell. He was heavily fined at the Restoration, lived a country life in Wiltshire, where he wrote this history, and entertained ejected ministers. Penn had known him, and from the quotation he gives of his views the old Puritan leader had clearly come to essential Quakerism. "My religion is the good spirit of God in my heart; I mean, what that has wrought in me and for me." After a Friends' meeting at his house, he rose up, pulled off his hat and said," This is the everlasting gospel I have heard this day—the ancient gospel is again preached to them that dwell upon the earth." It is good thus to hear of one of the Commonwealth men faithful and still learning in evil days. The above is taken from §xxxv. in *No Cross, no Crown*. In 1711 a volume of "Discourses delivered in his own family, by that great man, Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke," quite on Friends' lines, was published, with an introductory Epistle by William Penn.

In 1709 we hear of another ministerial tour in the south and west. In February 1712 (new style) he dictated a preface to the Journal of John Banks, one of the

THE BUST COPIED FROM IVORY MODEL OF WILLIAM PENN, MADE FROM MEMORY AFTER HIS DEATH BY SYLVANUS BEVAN.

(See note page 328.)

original pioneers who came out from Brigham in Cumberland in George Fox's earliest mission. This was his last effort in the long labour of authorship. He walked about dictating, with cane in hand, useful for marking emphasis, and "gave an occasional answer to other matters intervening" (poor man). Thus his last published words went back in gratitude across forty-four years to one who had been a father to him "in the light, spirit, grace and truth of Christ in the inward parts."

One is glad to think that two years of happy experience of the fruition of his lifelong hopes and labours over the sea was granted to William Penn in the evening of his life, whilst he still retained all the fulness of his faculties. We still hear in his letters of his wish to return to his reconciled province; but we are left to infer that his wife's wishes or want of money prevailed. In 1710, at any rate, he took a handsome house at Ruscombe, near Twyford, Berks.

The negotiations for the sale to the Crown of the right of government in Pennsylvania still dragged on. Penn needed money to repay his friendly creditors, and his son William was unfit to be Governor. The conflict between Quaker ideas on war, and allegiance to the Crown, seemed insoluble. Finally, it appeared that he could arrange with the Government to provide for the democracy and the religious liberty of the colony; and an agreement for the sale of the Governor's rights for £12,000 was made with the Lord Treasurer by the summer of 1712. In October he was writing to Logan expressing regret that Friends in England and America had not been willing to incorporate a body of themselves, to buy the Charter and rule in his stead. This would have been the right course. Under it the colony would have been a true democracy, and the sons of William Penn would not have been able to give him away, as they did. "But," he adds bitterly, "I am not to be heard either in civils or spirituals till I am dead." He refers to the "mad,

bullying treatment" he had had from his son-in-law Aubrey about money matters, his "tempestuous and most rude treatment of my wife and self." But before this sad letter was finished his pen dropped from his hand and he wrote no more letters. He had had one attack of what Hannah Penn called his lethargic illness in London six months before, from which he had recovered; but this one left him seriously weaker, and a third attack three months later left him permanently enfeebled, memory gone, intellect clouded and childish, but all his sweetness and happiness left, his love to God and man. Contemporary letters and Joseph Besse in his "Life" speak of his attacks as apoplexy. Dixon calls it paralysis, and Janney seems to favour that view. Once Hannah Penn calls it a paralytic disorder, and she also called it his translation; it seemed like being born again a little child. But the William Penn we have known closed his career at the end of 1712.

He had already received £1,000 from the Government towards payment for his rights as Governor of Pennsylvania; but the lawyers held him incapable of signing the deeds, and the transaction was never completed; so Penns ruled in Pennsylvania till the Revolution of 1776. The negotiation did not affect the ownership of the land, only the Government.

The burden of affairs now fell upon the capable and devoted shoulders of Hannah Penn and the faithful Logan. They were greatly aided by the increasing prosperity and growing population of the colony after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713; and by its willingness to meet its own government charges. The early troubles of the colony were a backwash from the European wars of William III. and Marlborough, and they ceased when peace was made. The two paid off in time the friendly mortgage, and maintained the rising young family of Hannah's children. William Junr. had sunk into debauchery, and they rarely saw him. He deserted his wife and children, who lived at

Ruscombe, and spent his time in continental cities. William Penn had very happy times with his young children and his grand-children, wandering with them about the gardens and the many rooms of the mansion, a child again. When he saw his wife writing at her desk a vague remembrance of trouble connected with correspondence and business shaded his expression so she kept her writing away from him. Ruscombe she kept up because her husband enjoyed it so; though she would gladly have gone into a smaller house to save expense. Her sons John and Thomas, afterwards to become the wealthy owners of Pennsylvania, she contemplated putting as apprentices to a linen-draper and to a doctor. But times must have rapidly improved for her and Logan. That faithful man, after ten years' service at no very fixed salary, was desired in 1711 to name one. He, " considering his master's melancholy circumstances," fixed it at only £100 a year for all manner of services whatsoever," but said he could only stay two years longer, " but" he adds, his employer "was seized with an apoplectic fit in less than one year, which tied me down to his business, and vastly, as it proved, to my loss." But it cannot have been so in the long run, and Logan was able, afterwards, as he deserved, to live and die in modest wealth and dignity. In remembering the failures among the assistants Penn chose, we must not forget the faithful young schoolmaster, James Logan. Colonel Quarry died in 1712, which must have been a relief to the two anxious stewards. It was not settled for some years that the surrender to the Government could not be carried out; they both desired that it should.

Joseph Besse has printed the reports of a Friend who visited the invalid, and may have been Henry Goldney, or perhaps Joseph Besse himself, told in his modest way.* It describes a gradual wearing away of faculty, frequent drives to Reading Meeting in the earlier years, and

* Works, II., p. 151.

acceptable ministry, gradually fading, but the spirit shining through, always full of the happiness of the consecrated. Thomas Story, over on a religious visit from America, visited him in 1714 and records :

" He was then under the lamentable effects of an apoplectic fit, which he had had some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before, wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks; for though to some this accident might look like judgment, and, no doubt, his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition ; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When these are but a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts and finest expression becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him ; and that he had still a good sense of truth is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted ; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."

We need not linger over this period of peace, the day labour done. The invalid took fever in the sixth year of

his decline. Thomas Story, on whom Hannah Penn greatly relied, had just gone to Bristol, where her son John was apprenticed, and a messenger was too late to bring him back in time. William Penn seemed to fall asleep between two and three in the morning of the 30th July, 1718. He was nearly seventy-four. When Thomas Story arrived, " a solid time of worship we had together, but few words among us for some time ; for it was a deep baptizing season." The remains were taken to Jordans and laid by the side of Guli, and near Springett and the infant children they had lost. Thomas Story writes :

" We had a large meeting, and as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth for great and good services—had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various sorts, and did not leave him in his last moments—so He was pleased to honour this occasion with His blessed presence."

Messages of reverent sympathy came from the General Meeting of Friends in Pennsylvania ; and the Indians, on hearing of Onas's death, sent his widow an address accompanied by a moving present. It consisted of materials to form a garment of skins, suitable for travelling through a thorny wilderness without her guide : a symbol of the path the lonely widow would have to travel. Surely no Old Testament prophet ever acted a more vivid parable.

Difficulties indeed at once began. Happily, just before his seizure in 1712, he had made a will. The English and Irish estates which he had inherited from his father were worth about £1,500 a year, and were in 1712 much the most valuable part of his property. Pennsylvania had only recently begun to yield a net return. These were left to the three children of the prodigal son William—Gulielma Maria, Springett, and William. Guli's property, under a settlement executed by her, fell to her son William, but he had already wasted and sold the estates

in Kent. To Letitia Aubrey and to each of William's three children he left ten thousand acres in Pennsylvania, to give them an interest in the colony. Out of the colonial revenue also, Hannah Penn was to have an annuity of £300 a year, and all his personal property in England and America, including arrears of rent due. She also was sole executrix. Subject to the above claims and to the payment of his debts, the broad lands of Pennsylvania and Delaware unsold, with all quit-rents, were to be divided up among his second family of children, John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard and Dennis, who died young, in such portions as their mother might direct. The Government of Pennsylvania he was at that time on the point of selling to the Crown, and he appointed Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and William, Earl Pawlett, to carry the Government on and dispose of it to the Queen or otherwise.

William Penn, Jun., now appeared and claimed as heir-at-law to be Governor of Pennsylvania. From that disaster, however, the colony was saved. The Earls resisted it, but had a doubt about their powers. The will omitted to say to whom they were to pay the money they might obtain from the sale of the Government. Was it to be regarded as real or as personal estate? A suit in Chancery was instituted, which kept the issue pending, as such suits do; meantime, Hannah Penn as executrix was to act as Governor. Two years after his father, William died of consumption and a ruined constitution somewhere in France; and as the Governorship was not sold to anyone the suit fell through and William's son Springett came to an arrangement with the heirs. Hannah Penn administered the Province as long as her children were minors. She too had an attack of paralysis in 1722, but recovered and lived till 1727. She had been attractive and beloved in the colony when she lived there, and to her devotion and business ability the province and the family owed much.

She had a hard experience and it is not unfitting that to her children came the potential wealth of the estate. John, Thomas and Richard became the proprietors. They left Friends; they had none of their father's spirit and lofty aims; they were very ordinary landlords, and their Indian policy is, as we saw, not unstained by fraud. Their descendants lost the government at the Revolutionary War; and in 1779 the legislature of Pennsylvania vested their landed estates also in the Commonwealth. The Penns were in the English interest. Their private personal estates were reserved to them, their existing quit-rents, and £130,000 was to be paid as compensation at the end of the war, in testimony to the State's regard for its Founder, and to ease the act of confiscation. But the value was on a higher scale altogether. From 1781 to 1789 the State received £824,000 from the sale of lands. The Penn family approached the British Government for compensation when the war was over, and asked for £944,800. The committee on claims allowed £500,000.* It was finally settled to make posterity pay, and a perpetual pension of £4,000 a year was ordered to be paid to the representative of William Penn out of the Imperial revenue. This pension, under pressure of a Radical agitation, was commuted in 1884 for £67,000.

Reading Monthly Meeting drew up the Testimony usual when a "Publick Friend" had died; and, in Friends' phraseology, it seems to me that they were much favoured in what they wrote: remembering the difficulty of all obituaries.

"Being a member of our Monthly Meeting at the time of his decease, and for some years before, we can do no less, in giving the foregoing account, than to say something of the character of so worthy a man; and not only refer to other meetings, where his residence was in former times, who are witnesses of the great self-denial he underwent in the prime of his youth, and the patience

* Janney, pp. 549, 550.

with which he bore many a heavy cross; but think it our duty to cast in our mite, to set forth in part his deserved commendation.

"He was a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition; quick of thought and of ready utterance; full of the qualifications of true discipleship, even love without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice and ingratitude were utter strangers—ready to forgive enemies, and the ungrateful were not excepted.

"Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some deficiencies, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation, and judging in charity, even that part of his conduct may be attributed to a peculiar sublimity of mind.

"Notwithstanding which, he may, without straining his character, be ranked among the learned, good, and great; whose abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his elaborate writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications, and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions.

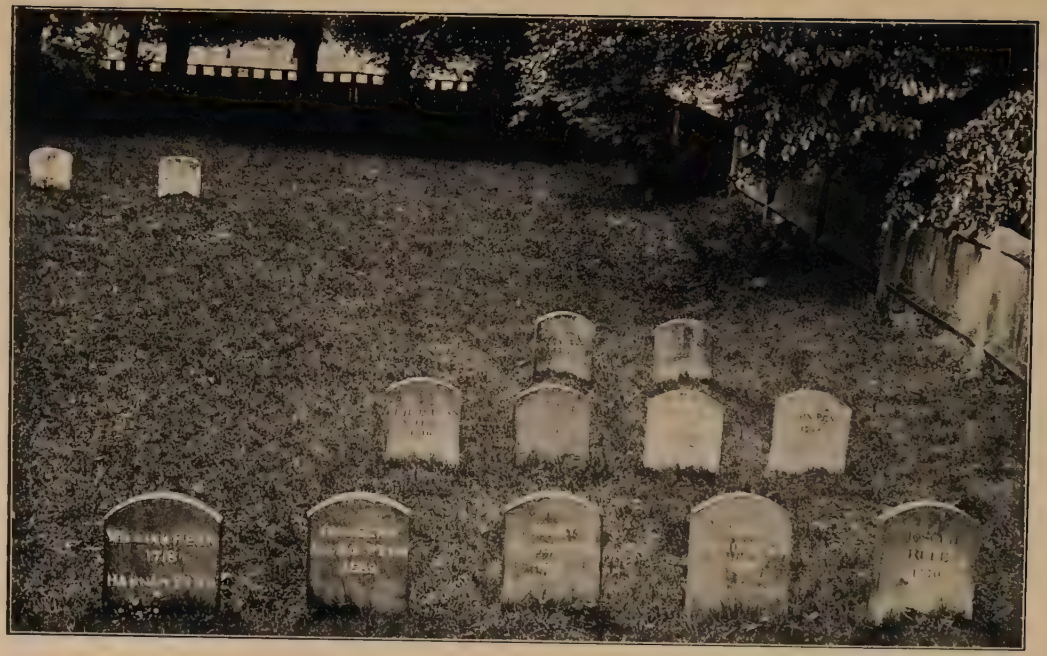
"And although in old age, by reason of some shock of a violent disease, his intellect was much impaired, yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost effects, and remained when reason almost failed.

"In fine, he was learned without vanity; apt without forwardness; facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious—of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man, a scholar, a friend; a minister surpassing in speculative endowments, whose memorial will be valued by the wise and blessed with the just."

William Penn was always beloved of his poor neighbours; and his charities at Rickmansworth, Worminghurst, and Pennsbury have left some echoes still. About Ruscombe the Parish Registers show that the poor christened their children William Penn, Gulielma, and composite names made out of Pennsylvanian places.*

Every record and tradition agrees in telling of the sweetness and urbanity of his speech and manner, his

* Clarkson, Vol. II., p. 358.



JORDANS BURIAL GROUND.
Photo. Downer, Watford.
(See page 330.)

ready wit and bright talk, his easy familiarity with high and low. Dean Swift says that "he talked very agreeably and with much spirit."* Dr. Tillotson says he took great pleasure in Penn's acquaintance. His helpful way with young ministers, and the loving reverence he inspired may be found in Thomas Story's Journal. The General Meeting of Friends in Pennsylvania say:

"His behaviour was sweet and engaging, and his condescension great even to the weakest and meanest; affable and of easy access; tender to every person and thing that had simplicity of truth or honesty for a foundation."†

What was the standing and position of William Penn among Friends after the death of George Fox? He was the ablest and most distinguished living Quaker. Did he become the recognised leader? In the first place no actual recognised leader was wanted, or was possible. The modesty and selflessness of George Fox had kept him from assuming anything like an official leadership. But a central personality of great influence there was bound to be. George Whitehead became the central figure at the headquarters of the Society in London. He drew up documents, and guided the Yearly Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings and Morning Meeting. The relation between him and William Penn was not unlike the relation between James the brother of the Lord, head of the Church at Jerusalem, and Paul the traveller and the adventurer, the scholar and the author of Epistles, the man born of high citizenship, who had studied at the feet of Gamaliel, but who was not always approved by the chiefest apostles. There is an odd element of heredity in the parallel also. For James held this post at Jerusalem because he was the eldest man akin to Jesus. This is the usual way with religions in the East, and was

* Noble, quoted by Clarkson and Janney.

† Janney, p. 570.

followed by the election of members of our Lord's and James's family after his death, even as late as the time of Trajan.* In the same kind of way Thomas Lower and William Mead, who acted constantly with George Whitehead at headquarters, were the husbands of George Fox's step-daughters, Mary and Sarah Fell. This is not much more than embroidering fancy. These excellent men did not always sympathise with William Penn's adventures and difficulties. They did not like his going to Court and mixing with statesmen, and offered criticism of the usual mild Quaker type, saying less than it means. Timid spirits also would not care to identify the Society absolutely with a man under suspicion of Jacobitism. William Mead for some reason objected to Penn's preface being printed with George Fox's Journal, and as he would not yield, he was finally overruled: but it is not unlikely that the Fell sisters and their husbands were with William Mead in this view.† One notes a certain restraint and constraint in Margaret Rous's reference in a letter to her mother Margaret Fox, in March, 1699:

"William Penn is in town and great crowding after him. I believe there is little alteration in him or others, but much as they were when you was here."

In June, 1699, she writes to her mother:

"We hope if William Penn be brought to condemn that which he hath been so far wrong in (to the hurt of many), though but in part, that things will go better among Friends, and Truth come up in its ancient purity over the false wrong spirit which hath so much prevailed to its dishonour and hurt, which the truly honest will be right glad of."†

The biographer may well wish Margaret had been more explicit. But, plainly there was serious disapproval behind, on behalf of the family. We have seen it appearing

* Lindsay, "The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries," p. 120, note.

† "Margaret Fox," by Helen G. Crosfield, pp. 197, 230, 231.

when Penn was in retirement between 1691-3, and again in David Lloyd's time, later. On the whole it says much for every one that after the death of George Fox personal difficulties seem to have been so slight among his successors. There is nothing on Penn's side referring to the difference at all.

We are told that William Penn always insisted on taking the lowest seat in the row of ministers, particularly preferring to put poor men above him. I am not sure that this practice, not unheard of to-day, is to be wholly commended. There are other available forms of modesty.

Can we wonder that the mechanism of Penn's intellect was worn out at sixty-eight? It had endured and done much. Religious exercises had been carried on all his life from childhood with a fervour we vainly hope to recall nowadays. Under such strong and taxing exercise of the nerves he had been perpetually preaching; and preaching not history nor mere edification; but every time he had been the voice of an Inward Power. Doubtless the Inward Power gives its vehicle strength for the occasion; but it is fatiguing in the end to the instrument. Then his enormous output of books and pamphlets, largely of the nature of preaching, must have been costly to heart and brain. Anxieties about money, and about the action of an unfriendly government, and about the present and future of his colony, must have told upon him. Bereavement had been his full portion. His beloved wife and his son Springett's loss had rent his spirit, and he had seen George Fox, Isaac Penington and Robert Barclay to their rest.

The inside of prisons was his home for some years in all:—The Tower, Newgate, the Old Bailey, lodgings in hiding. It was not exhilarating to live in such places. Many had been the enemies who had shot at him—informers like Fuller—sectaries like Keith or Bugg or Rogers—demagogues like David Lloyd—plotters like

Quarry—rogues like the Fords—countless polemical divines. Then his troubles with his father in early years, and his son in his age, were causes of bitter suffering. On the top of these he had a vast volume of business at all times, and the care of the Church, and of all those suffering under persecution, for whom he was the active champion in the years before the Toleration Act. No wonder that the strong well-made instrument was finally worn out, and that, as with Ruskin, a period of leisure from striving closed the turbulent years.

It is not easy for us to realise the very keen religious life of William Penn and his type of Friend. The consciousness of the presence of God was with them with an insistence to which our age is a stranger. It was not, I feel sure, a mere *façon de parler* for William Penn's letters to be prefaced and concluded with aspirations for his correspondents' spiritual welfare. At home his household met three times daily for family worship. Is there a Quaker household to-day where this would not be felt to be burdensome, to be a bore in fact? In how many of our households do we have family worship or reading twice a day? Only in a few somewhat old established homes does that practice continue. Bible Reading even once a day is not quite universal. No cure is to be found by establishing such functions under a sense of duty or sacrifice. That would be to put the consequence before the cause, the dead form before the living spirit. No one can justly blame another for this weakening of the religious sense; it is "in the air." But it is well for us carefully to cherish and diligently to practise such faculty of perception of Divine things as remains to us, and to live in the light we have. It would carry us too far to try to analyse the causes of the prevailing religious indifference. But as to the fact there is a great consensus of experience. It would be wholly impossible to raise a religious movement of any kind in Cumberland

or Westmorland to-day, by preaching for three hours on Pardshaw Crag or Fir Bank Fell.

The name and fame of William Penn have grown in the years since his death. Burke's eloquent tribute and Bancroft's strong panegyric may be read in the closing pages of Janney.

"This," says Bancroft, "is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for the liberties of his order, and not for new enfranchisements, and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest on property—Penn did not despair of humanity, and though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government."

"His name was safely cherished as a household word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland, and among the peasantry of Germany; and not a tenant of a wigwam, from the sea to the Susquehanna, doubted his integrity.

"His fame is now wide as the world; he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory."

Not on this note, however, would we close the Life of one who never betrayed any sensitiveness to fame. Quakerism is native to high adventure; it must never play for safety. We shall not choose the path of plodding imitation, nor popularity's primrose way, if we have caught in these pages the spirit of one of those heroes, of Prometheus' ancient breed, who, defying lesser gods, win from Principalities and Powers the soul's enfranchisement, and warm and light the earth with the fire that has cost them dear.

Appendix

NOTE ON MACAULAY

WILLIAM PENN has been the object of certain attacks and slanders, both during his life and since. That a man so gentle and so attractive, who spent his life for his fellows, and never did an evil deed to another, should be so subject, does not speak well for human nature. Men allow partisanship to obscure personality. Penn, in his lifelong fight for toleration came into conflict with the Anglican party, and his living Quaker teaching made current theology feel cold and lifeless, and denied many propositions it contained. This was enough to make him enemies in an age of Revolution.

Most of the attacks upon him centre round his friendship with James II. The Catholic and the Quaker were both persecuted, and the naval friendship between the Duke of York and Admiral Penn was not unnaturally kept up between Penn's son and the King who was his guardian. William Penn's activities at the court of the Catholic King were for the sake of Toleration pure and simple. He was there to save the victims of persecution. That was no excuse in the eyes of the Anglican party, who were against Toleration, and it was cheap and easy to doubt his motive and to dub him a Catholic. Jesuits were known or believed to assume disguises, was it not probable, nay, almost certain that Penn was a Jesuit? The story about confounding Saumur, where Penn was educated under the Protestant Moses Amyraut, with S. Omer the Jesuit College has been alluded to. Then in the plots of the Jacobites after the Revolution, the worldly mind could not understand that Penn was

the last man to advocate an armed invasion from France to restore the late King, and there were not wanting spies and informers and unprincipled hangers on at S. Germains who would say that Penn advocated such an attempt.* And the enemies of James could not admit that he had any friends who were not bad men; so the existence of his creditable friendship with a man of high character could not be tolerated by partisans like Bishop Burnet, Sir James Macintosh, and Lord Macaulay. So the most audacious and improbable fabrications were resorted to.†

It seems hardly worth while at this date to go over again the elaborate defence of Penn against the charges in Lord Macaulay's History. This has already been done with careful completeness by previous biographers; and the matter cannot be argued in proper historical fashion, except at considerable length, and with long quotations from authorities.

The first defender of William Penn was the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., in 1848, shortly after the appearance of Macaulay's first two volumes. A single volume edition of Clarkson's Life was then brought out, with a preface by W. E. Forster, replying to Macaulay.

In W. Hepworth Dixon's "Historical Biography" of 1851 is a well written extra chapter on "The Macaulay Charges," containing further research, but only covering Macaulay's Vols. I. and II., all then out.

John Paget, Barrister-at-Law, brought out "A New Examen," a crucial attack in a quite small book upon Macaulay's inaccuracies concerning Penn and several other subjects. In 1858, the Penn portion was printed separately. This is perhaps the most clear and cogent of all the replies.

* For the memorandum of the spies Williamson and Plunkett, in Nairne's Papers, see Clarkson II., pp. 378-81.

† For Burnet, see Clarkson, Vol. II., Chap. XV., pp. 370-377.

Janney (1851) devotes his Chapter XXII. to a refutation of Macaulay's charges in his earlier volumes, and a supplementary chapter to those in the third and fourth volumes. The earlier part is based on Forster and Dixon, the latter part is fresh.

The reader who cannot consult any of these books, may like just to know what the accusations were, and what the kind of reply.

Macaulay accuses Penn of collecting from the parents of the schoolgirls of Taunton a heavy ransom for their pardon for the offence of making a banner for Monmouth in his rebellion. The ransom was to go to the Queen's maids of honour. It is, however, clear that the man asked to do this job was a certain "George Penne," a pardon broker.

Macaulay sneers at Penn for his presence at the execution of Cornish and Elizabeth Gaunt after the same rebellion. He was, however, there with their friends as a sympathiser, and able afterwards to defend Cornish's behaviour at the time.

Macaulay accuses him of trying, on the King's account, to bribe a Dissenter named Kiffin with the office of Alderman. It appears that Kiffin, on his own initiative, asked Penn to explain to the King that he did not wish to accept it.

Macaulay accuses Penn of helping the King to bully the Fellows of Magdalen and to induce them to yield. Penn acted throughout for the Fellows and at their request; told the King he was in the wrong, and was at much pains to prevent their expulsion. Any contrary view is founded on an anonymous letter said to be by Penn, but disowned by him, and on a joke twisted out of its meaning.

Macaulay says that Friends looked coldly on Penn, and treated him with obloquy when he was acting at Court as the friend of the persecuted. The Society records and the narrative of this book show that broadly this is baseless.

Macaulay says Penn went to Holland in 1687 to try to obtain the support of William of Orange to the Declaration of Indulgence. What happened is narrated in the text, and is wholly creditable.

The other charges concern Jacobite plottings sufficiently referred to in the text and above.

No man's memory ever had a more complete vindication. The reputation of Macaulay as a reliable historian has faded greatly in sixty years. He never admitted his errors about Penn, though he lived till 1859. His references to George Fox are contemptuous and contemptible. He hated Friends. His only connection with them was that his mother was born a Friend, and that the Wighams and other leading Friends were against him on the occasion of his defeat for Edinburgh, which was the great blow in his political life, long resented by him. This might strengthen any anti-Quaker predisposition which his evangelical training and his temperament may have given him. But, primarily, for him no friend of James's could be a good man. Macaulay's is a Whig history. *

* The criticisms of Burnet, who thought Penn was a Roman Catholic, are refuted by Clarkson, Chap. XX.

Bibliography

BIOGRAPHIES.

1. An Account of the Author's Life. By Joseph Besse. In Vol. I. of Collected Works of W. Penn. 1726. And in "Everyman" edition.
2. La Vie de Guillaume Penn. Par Jean de Marsillac. 2 vols. Paris, 1791.
3. Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M.A. 2 vols. Lond., 1813; Phila., 1814; Dover, N.H., 1820; 1 vol., Manchester, 1849.
4. William Penn. An Historical Biography. By William Hepworth Dixon. Lond., 1851, 1852, 1856. Abbreviated as History of William Penn. London, 1872.
5. The Life of William Penn, with Selections from his Correspondence and Autobiography. By Samuel M. Janney. 2 vols. Phila., 1851, 1852. 1 vol., Phila., 1882, and other dates.
6. William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania. By Dr. John Stoughton. Lond., 1882.
7. The Family of William Penn. By Howard M. Jenkins. Phila., 1899.
8. Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century. By Maria Webb. London, 1867, 1891.
9. Dictionary of National Biography (Lond)., Vol. XLIV. (1895). Article on William Penn, by J. M. Rigg.
10. "The True William Penn." By S. G. Fisher, Phila., 1900 (*lucus a non lucendo*).
11. Quaker and Courtier: The Life of William Penn. Mrs. Colquhoun Grant. A handsome illustrated volume, interesting, but full of errors. Lond., 1907.

OTHER BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS, UNDER AUTHORS' NAMES.

EDMUND RACK. A Sketch in "Caspipina's Letters." Vol. II. Bath, 1777.
PRISCILLA WAKEFIELD. (A brief Memoir for the Young.) Lond., 1816.
M. L. WEEMS. Phila., 1822, 1836.
MARY HUGHES (late Robson). (Brief Memoir for the Young.) Lond., 1822.
ANON. No. 21 in Select Biographies. Lond., 1822.
ANON. (Brief). Edin., 1826.
ANON. In "Robertson's Classics." Edin., 1828.
JOB R. TYSON. Phila., 1830.
B. H. DRAPER. (Life and Maxims. Brief.) Lond. c. 1836.
JOHN FROST. Phila., 1839.
ENOCH LEWIS, in Friends' Library, Vol. V. Phila., 1841.
ANON. In Knight's "Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies." Vol. XI. Lond., 1846.
GEORGE E. ELLIS. In Sparkes's "American Biography." Vol. XII. Boston, 1847.
JOSEPH BARKER. Lond., 1847.
ANON. Boston, Mass., 1848.
ANON. For the Young, illustrated. Phila., 1849.
JACOB POST. Lond., 1850.
EPSILON (John Lury). Southampton, 1853.
L. VULLIEMIN. In French. Paris, 1855.
JAMES M. BROWN in "Primitive Christianity Reviewed." Va., 1857.
JOHN PAGET. The new Examen. An Inquiry into Macaulay's charges. (Edin. and Lond.) 1858.
C. VINCENS. In French. Paris, 1877.
THOMAS P. COPE. "Passages from Life and Writings." Phila., 1882.
ROBERT J. BURDETTE. N.Y., 1882.
J. P. MCCASKEY. Phila., 1882.
JANE BUDGE. Lond., 1884.
FERNANDO LINDERBERG. In Danish. Kolding, 1887.
WILLIAM J. BUCK. (A large book). ("William Penn in America") Phila. 1888.

W. H. Summers. Hertford, 1890.
Inazo Nitobe (translator). In Japanese. Tokyo, 1895.
Allen C. Thomas. Phila., 1895, 1896.
Frances E. Cooke. Lond., 1899.
George Hodges. Boston, 1901.
Augustus C. Buell. N.Y. and Lond., 1904. (Hostile and erroneous).
Frederick Sessions. Lond., 1905.
Lucy B. Roberts. In "Quaker Biographies," Vol. I. Phila., 1909.
——— Separate issue in tract series, "Friends Ancient and Modern." Lond. and N.Y., 1910.
Osmond Airy. In "Encyclopædia Britannica." 1911.
Edith L. Elias. In "In Stewart Times," Lond., 1911.
Rupert S. Holland. N.Y., 1915.

WORKS.

A Collection of the Works of William Penn. 2 vols. folio. 1726. Anon., but by Joseph Besse.
Select Works of William Penn. 1771, in royal folio. 1782 (in 5 vols., octavo). 1825 (in 3 vols.)
Index to Works of Wm. Penn, by "Philalethes" (Henry Portsmouth), c. 1730.
Selections from the Works of William Penn. By Isaac Sharpless. Lond., 1910.

RECENT REPRINTS.

The Peace of Europe: The Fruits of Solitude: and Other Writings. By William Penn. Everyman's Library, No. 724. Lond., 1915.
Sandy Foundation Shaken (1688). Reprinted by British and Foreign Unitarian Assoc., London, 1888.
No Cross, No Crown (1682). Lond., 1846, 1896, 1902.
Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims (1693). With Introduction by Edmund Gosse. Lond., 1901, 1903. Essex House Press, Lond., 1901. New York and Boston, 1903. With Introduction by John Clifford. Lond., 1905.

An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe (1693). With Foreword by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (pamphlet). Gloucester, 1915.

Trial of William Penn and William Mead. (1670). Lond., 1908.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Thomas Budd. Good Order Established, Phila., 1685; New York, 1865; Cleveland, O., 1902.

Gabriel Thomas. Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania. Lond., 1698; New York, 1848; Cleveland, O., 1903.

Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from 1826 onwards, particularly Vol. III., Part 2 (1836) and Vols. IX., X., Penn-Logan Correspondence.

Robert Proud. History of Pennsylvania. (2 vols.) Phila. 1797-8.

Samuel Hazard. Register of Pennsylvania. 16 vols. Phila., 1828-36.

——— Annals of Pennsylvania, 1609-1682. Phila., 1850.

John F. Watson. Annals of Philadelphia. Phila., 1830; Historical Tales. Phila., 1833.

Benjamin Ferris. History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware. Wilmington, Del., 1846.

Howard M. Jenkins. Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal. 3 vols. Phila., 1903.

Isaac Sharpless. Quakers in the American Colonies. Ed. by Rufus M. Jones. Book V., Pennsylvania, Lond., 1911.

——— A Quaker Experiment in Government, Phila., 1898.

——— The Quakers in the Revolution, Phila., 1899.

Allen C. Thomas. History of Pennsylvania. Boston, Mass., 1913.

Agnes Repplier. Philadelphia, the Place and the People. New York. 1898.

S. F. Hotchkin. Penn's Greene Country Towne. Phila., 1903.

E. Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell. Our Philadelphia. Phila. and Lond., 1914.

Isaac Sharpless. Friends in Public Life, Lond., 1916.

Chronology

1644 14th October—Birth of William Penn.
1655 Removal to Macroom, Ireland.
1660 To Christchurch, Oxford. Preaching of Thomas Loe.
1662 Expelled from Oxford—Beaten by his father—Goes to Paris, Saumur, Italy.
1664 Returns Home—At Lincoln's Inn.
1666 To Ireland—Clerk of the Cheque at Kinsale.
1667 Becomes a Friend at Cork—Short imprisonment.
———*Letter to the Earl of Orrery.*
Return to England—Turned out of doors.
1668 Began to preach.
———*Truth Exalted.*
———*The Guide Mistaken.*
Controversy with Vincent.
———*The Sandy Foundation Shaken.*
Imprisoned in the Tower.
1669 ———*No Cross, No Crown.*
———*Letter to Lord Arlington.*
———*Innocency with Her Open Face.*
Released from the Tower—To Ireland.
1670 ———*Letter of Love to the Young Convinced.*
Return to England—Second Conventicle Act.
Trial with Wm. Mead for preaching in Gracechurch St.
———*The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted.*
Death of Admiral Penn, 16th Sept.
Dispute with Ives.
———*Letter to the Vice Chancellor, Oxford*
1671 In Newgate.
———*Truth Rescued from Imposture.*
Winter in Bucks.
———*A Seasonable Caveat against Popery.*
———*The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience.*
———*A Serious Apology for Quakers.*
Short Visit to Holland and Germany.

1672 Marriage to Gulielma Maria Springett.
Residence at Rickmansworth begins
First Declaration of Indulgence.
———*The Spirit of Truth Vindicated.*
———*New Witnesses proved Old Heretics.*
———*Plain Dealing with a Traducing Anabaptist.*
———*A Winding Sheet for Controversie Ended.*
———*Quakerism a New Nickname for Old Christianity.*
1673 Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn. Test Act.
———*The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication.*
———*A Return to John Faldo's Reply.*
———*Wisdom Justified of her Children.*
———*The Christian Quaker.*
———*Reason against Railing and Truth against Fiction.*
———*The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately revived, now justly rebuked.*
———*Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and His Followers.*
1674 ———*Counterfeit Christian Detected.*
———*Urim and Thummim.*
———*A Just Rebuke to one and twenty Learned and Reverend Divines (so called.)*
———*Epistles in Latin to the Senates and People of Embden and Dantzic on Persecution.*
1675 ———*A Treatise on Oaths.*
———*England's Present Interest Discovered.*
———*The Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice.*
———*Five Letters to Richard Baxter.*
1676 ———*Saul Smitten to the Ground.*
———*The Skirmisher Defeated.*
Becomes a proprietor of West New Jersey.
1677 Removal to Worminghurst.
Travels in Holland and Germany.
———*Four Epistles to Christians on the Continent*, translated into Dutch and German.
Algernon Sidney returns from exile.
1678 Penn gives evidence before Committee on Penal Laws.
The Popish Plot Agitation begins (Aug.)
———*Brief Answer to a False and Foolish Libel.*
———*An Epistle to the Children of Light.*

1679 Pension Parliament of 1661 dissolved (Jan.)
———*An Address to Protestants.*
Guildford candidature of Algernon Sidney.
First Short Parliament (March to May) passed the Habeas Corpus Act and read the Exclusion Bill twice.
Bramber candidature of Algernon Sidney. [*Parliament.*
———*England's Great Interest in the Choice of a new*
1680. Second Short Parliament (October, 1680,—January, 1681.)
———*One Project for the Good of England.*
Death of Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine.
Death of Isaac Penington (8th October). [(June).
Penn petitions the Government for a grant in America
1681 Collapse of the Popish Plot.
———*A Brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual.*
Charter for Pennsylvania signed (14th March).
———*Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania.*
———*Fundamental Constitution of Pennsylvania.*
1682 Victory of the King and Duke.
———Second and larger edition of *No Cross, No Crown.*
Death of his Mother.
———*Letter to his Wife and Children.*
Arrival in Pennsylvania (October).
———*Frame of Government.*
Founding of Philadelphia.
1683 Execution of Algernon Sidney.
———*Letter to the Free Society of Traders.*
Great Treaty of Shackamaxon.
1684 Return to England (October).
1685 Accession of James II. Penn at Court.
Monmouth's Rebellion.
Liberation of 1,300 Friends.
———*Fiction Found Out.*
———*Defence of the Duke of Birmingham's Book.*
———*Further Account of Pennsylvania.*
1686 ———*A Persuasive to Toleration to Church Dissenters.*
Penn's embassage on Toleration to William of Orange.
1687 Second Declaration of Indulgence.
———*Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenter.*
King's attack on Magdalen College, Oxford.

1688 Declaration of Indulgence to be read in Churches.
———*Letter to W. Poppleton. Letters on the Penal Laws.*
Trial of the Seven Bishops.
Flight of James II. Revolution.
Deputy Governor Blackwell appointed in Pennsylvania.
1689 Penn arrested and examined three times during this year
Toleration Act. [and the next.
1690 Deaths of Robert Barclay and John Burnyeat.
1691 Death of George Fox (January).
Penn goes into retirement (January).
———*Prefaces to Barclay's and Burnyeat's Works.*
Deputy Governor Blackwell resigns. Succeeded by Thomas Lloyd and Markham.
1692 Pennsylvania annexed by the Crown (March).
———*Just Measures.*
———*Key*, etc.
———*New Athenians no Noble Bereans.*
Separation and Disownment of George Keith. *Europe.*
1693 ———*Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims.*
Appears again in public (late autumn.)
1694 Death of Guli Penn. (February).
Pennsylvania restored to Penn (August).
———*Travels in Holland and Germany* printed.
———*Preface to George Fox's Journal*, reprinted as *Rise and Progress* of the Society of Friends.
Travels in the Ministry.
End of Government hostility.
1695 ———Reply to a nameless answer to W. Penn's "*Key.*"
1696 Marriage to Hannah Callowhill (February).
Death of his son Springett.
———*Primitive Christianity Revived.*
———*More Work for George Keith.*
1697 Visits Peter the Great at Deptford.
Removes from Worminghurst to Bristol.
1698 Travels in the Ministry in Ireland.
———*The Quaker a Christian.*
———*Gospel Truths.*
———*Defence against the Bishop of Cork.*
———*Testimony to the Truth of God.*

1699 *A Just Censure of Francis Bugg's Address.*
———*An Account of Gulielma Penn and of Springett Penn*
———*Epistle of Farewell to Friends.*
———*Fruits of a Father's Love* (published in 1726).
Second Visit to Pennsylvania.
James Logan accompanies him.
1701 Returns to England.
1702 Accession of Queen Anne.
In Lodgings at Kensington, and then in a house at Knightsbridge.
———*More Fruits of Solitude.*
———*On Occasional Conformity.*
Death of Philip Ford. Troubles with his widow begin.
1704 Wm. Penn, Jun., and Deputy Governor Evans go to Pennsylvania.
Unauthorised attack on Penn by David Lloyd.
1705-8 Lawsuit with the Fords.
1706 Removed to Brentford.
1707 Assembly attack Evans and Logan.
1708 Penn in the Fleet Prison, January-December.
1709 Gookin becomes Deputy. Penn travels in the ministry.
———*Life of Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke.*
1710 Assembly of Pennsylvania makes full reconciliation with the Governor. His long letter to them.
Removal to Ruscombe.
———*Preface to Journal of John Banks.*
1712 Penn s active life over. Attacks of paralysis.
Assembly puts heavy tax on import of negroes, removed by Home Government
1717 Governor Keith in Pennsylvania.
1718 Death of William Penn.

Index

Address to Protestants, 125.
Amsterdam, 107, 108, 109.
Amusements of the godless, 48.
Amyraut, Moses, 23, 310.
Anne, Queen, 291.
Apology for Himself, 167.
Aubrey, Letitia, 302.
Aubrey, Wm., 298.
Arlington, Lord. 41, 50.
Arran, Lord, 49.
Assembly of Pennsylvania, Constitution, 140; Christian, 141; First Meeting. 161; Second, 163; Impeaches Moore, 215; Quarrels with Blackwell, 217; Grants tax, 222; Argument with Fletcher, 225; Proposed New Frame, 226; 255; Rejects Bill for Marriage of negroes, 261; Taxes importation of negroes, 262; Difficulties with, 262; War revenue, 263; Their power, 264; Their greediness, 265; Their poverty, 267; Quarrels, 270; Reaction in favour of Penn, 271; Attacks Logan and Evans, 274; Remonstrance, 274; Quarrelsome, 275; New Election 275; Provides Revenue, 282; Taxes importation of negroes, 282; Permanent Quaker majority, 284; Friends resigned from, 284; Refuses to help Thomas Penn, 289.

Baltimore, Lord, 129, 161, 162, 164.
Bancroft, 309.
Banks, John, 296.
Barbadoes, 260.
Barclay's Apology, 46, 113.
Barclay, Robert, Gov. of West N.J., 105; In Holland and Germany, 107,; Death, 192; Preface, 198.
Baxter, Richard. 94.
Berkeley, Lord, 100, 101.
Bishop of London, 43, 44.
Blackwell, John, Lt.-Governor, 216 217.
Blasphemy Bill, 240.
Bloody Assize, 179.
Boyle, Roger, 27.
Braddock, 289.
Bramber, 123.
Brentford, 291.
Bristol, 235, 237, 240.
Buckingham, Duke of, 117; His Book on Religion, 173, 190.
Burnet, 310.
Bugg, Francis, 247.
Burlington, N.J., 103.
Burnet, Bishop, 180.
Burnyeat, John, 192; Preface, 198.
Bushel, 49, 50, 56.
Byllinge, Edward, 101.

Cabal Government, 50.
Callowhill, Thomas, 294.
Capital Punishment, 131, 285.
Carolinas, Constitution of, 143, 266.
Carteret, Sir George, 100, 102, 105.
Cashel, 243.
Catholics, Still Persecuted, 189.
Charles II., on Blasphemy, 42, 63.
Charter of Privileges, 263.
Chester, Pa., 155; 161, 284.
Chigwell School, 19.
Christian Quaker, 81.
Clement of Alexandria, 82.
Coale, Benjamin, 247.
Coale, Josiah, 101.
Committee on Trade and Plantations, 129, 265, 274.
Conestoga Indians, 290.
Connecticut, 266.

Conventicle Act, 50, 57.
Cork, Bishop of, 243; Reply to, 244.
Cornish, Henry, 179, 312.
Cowper, Lord Chancellor, 294.
Counterfeit Christian Detected, 87.
Crisp, Stephen, 88.

DANBY, 119.
Dantzig, 109.
Declaration of Indulgence, 79; (Second), 182, 184.
Defence of the D. of Buckingham's Book, 173.
De Labadie, 76, 110.
Delaware State, 132, 164, 171; Secession, 217, 264, 284.
Dialogue Between a Christian and a Quaker, 80.
Dublin, 241.

EASTON, 289.
Elisabeth of the Rhine, 109-112.
Ellwood, Thomas, 67, 68; Admiration for Guli Springett, 69, 70; Account of Newgate in his Autobiography, 72, 73, 74, 231.
England's Great Interest, 121.
England's Present Interest Considered, 78, 96.
Essay Towards the Peace of Europe, 201.
Evans, John, 269, 270; False Alarm, 271; Powder Money, 272; Refused to try Logan, 272; His Dismissal, 274.
Everyman's Library, 201, 206.

FALDO, JOHN, 80.
Familism, by Henry Halliwell, 80.
Farewell Sermon, 254.
Fell family, 306.
Fenwick, John, 101.
Fiction Found Out, 178.
Five Mile Act, 72.
Fleet Prison, 294.
Fletcher, Colonel, 193, 222, 224, 226.
Fords, The, 268, 291-4.
Forster, W. E., 310.
Formalism, 253.
Fothergill, Dr. John, 284.
Fox's Journal, 46; Preface to, 231.
Fox, George, In Prison at Worcester, 95; In Holland, 107; Death of, 191; Funeral, 192; Character Sketch, 232.
Frame of Government, 137, 141; New Frame, 226, 262.
Friendly Association (Indians), 289, 290.
Friends Orthodox Christians, 45.
Friends in Gaol, 115.
Fruits of a Father's Love, 249.
Fuller, William, 193, 194.

GAUNT, ELIZABETH, 179, 312.
Gentile Divinity, 82.
Germantown, 162, 290.
Godolphin, Sidney, 294.
Goldney, Henry, 292, 294, 299.
Good Advice to the Church of England, 182.
Gookin, Governor, 275, 283.
Gospel Truths, 241.
Gracechurch Street Meeting, 51, 293.
Guildford Election, 121.

HAMILTON, ANDREW, 264, 267, 269.
"Hat Honour," 32, 52, 53, 54, 56, 92.
Hicks, Thomas, 79, 80 to 88.
Hill, Richard, 272, 276, 283.
Historic and Inward Christ, 89, 90.
Holland and Germany, 107.
Holy Experiment, Summary of, 285-288.
Holy War, The, 50.
Hough, Dr., 183.
Huntley M.S., 21, 27, 33.

IMMORTALITY in Ancient Philosophers, 84.
Indians, Purchase from, 104; Liquor, 104; at Philadelphia, 155; Treaty, 157, 214; 263; 265; Under Logan, 288; Under Thos. Penn, 288; War, 289, 290; Message on Death of Penn, 301.
Informers, 126.
Innocency with her Open Face, 44, 45.
Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication, 80.
Inward and Historic Christ, 90.
Ireland, Visit to, 241.
Iroquois, 289.

JAMES, Duke of York, afterwards James II. Admiral, 25, 100; Supports the Charter, 128; Friendship with Penn, 170; Catholic Tendencies, 178.
Jasper, Margaret, Lady Penn, 14, 15.
Jenkins, Howard M., 13, 237, 290.
Jennings, Samuel, 219.
Jesuit, 309.
Jordans, 64, 301.
Judas and the Jews Combined, 93.
Juries, Rights of, 50.
Justification, 86.
Just Rebuke to One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines, 80
Just Measures, 199.

KEITH, GEORGE, 88; In Holland and Germany, 107; Separation, 218, 239.
Keith, Sir William, 283.
Keithian Friends, 261, 287.
Kensington, 291.
Key, 200.
Kiffin, 34, 312.
Kinsale, 26.
Knightsbridge, 291.

LAWTON, Charlewood, 175-177.
Liberation of Irish Friends, 49.
Liberty of Conscience, The Great Case of, 75.
Light, The, 81, 85.
Lloyd, David, 257, 268, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 283, 294.
Lloyd, Thomas, 165, 197, 215, 216, 217, 256.
Locke, John, 21, 142, 144, 174, 195.
Loe, Thomas, at Cork, 19; at Oxford, 21; at Cork, 28.
Logan, James, 255, 261, 267, 271; Impeached, 272, 275, 284, 295, 298, 299.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Penn's Address to, 49.
Lords of Trade and Plantations. *v.* Committee.
Love or Luff, John, 91.
Lower, Thomas, 196, 274, 306.
Lowther, Anthony and Margaret, 27.

MACAULAY, 310, 313.
Mackintosh, 311.
Macroom, 17, 19.
Magdalen College, 183, 311.
Markham, William, 132, 165, 214, 217, 222, 227, 257.
Maryland, 266.
Maryland Boundary *v.* Baltimore, Lord.
Mason and Dixon's Line, 171.
Mead, William, Trial of 50, 52, 53, 54, 55; Indictment, 51; Trial, 56, 57, 95, 271, 275, 306.
Melksham, 234.
Minisink Indians, 288, 289,
Moore, Nicholas, 215.
More Fruits of Solitude, 291.
More Work for George Keith, 238.

NATIONAL Meeting in Dublin, 49.
New Athenians No Noble Bereans, 199.
New Castle, 154.
Newgate, 54, 56, 71-75.
New Jersey, 100, 266.
No Cross no Crown, 45, 46; written in the Tower in 1668, 47, 48, 58.
Norris, Isaac, 274, 276, 294, 295.

OATES, TITUS, 120.
Oath in Pennsylvania, 269, 270, 284.
Old Bailey, 294-5.
Oldmixon, quoted, 282.
One Project for the Good of England, 123.
Ormonde, Duke of, 26.
Oxford, Earl of, 302.

PAGET, 311.
Paralysis, 298.
Parker, Bishop, 183.
Pastorius, F. D., 162, 260.
Paulet, Earl of, 302.
Paxton Boys, 290.
Pemberton, Israel, 289.
Penington, Mary, 64, 66.
Penington, Isaac, 63, 64, 65, 66.
Penington, Alderman, 65.
Penn, Giles, 13.

Penn, Guli, 144, 164; Death, 229; Visits abroad, 230.
Penn, Hannah Callowhill, 237, 238, 298, 302.
Penn, John, 299, 301, 303. (son),
Penn, John, 290 (grandson).
Penn, Lady, 14.
Penn, Margaret, *see* Lowther.
Penn, Springett, illness and death, 235, 236.
Penn, Thomas, 288, 299, 303.
Penn, Wm. the Admiral, 14,; at Jamaica, 17; In Ireland, 18; Commander under Duke of York, 25; Letter to, 30; Interview, 33; Illness, 43; Death, 58; Last sayings of, 59; Character, 61; Property, 61.
Penn, Wm., Jun., 236, 268, 270; His Return, 273, 297, 298, 301, 302.
Penn, William, the Founder, Birth, 15; Childish Vision, 20; at Christchurch 21; Expelled, 21; at Paris and Saumur, 23; Spiritual Conflict, 24, 26; His Learning, 25; Autobiographical fragment, 28; A Quaker, 32; In Prison, 32; Expelled from home, 34; His Works, 34; In the Tower, 41; Released, 45; In Ireland, 49; A Leader, 49; Trial, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57; Letter to his father, 51; Indictment, 51; Imprisonment, 57; Release, 58; His account of the Trial, 60; Public Controversy, 62; at Oxford, 62; Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, 62; At Penn in Bucks, 63, 64; Courtship, 67; In London, 71; Taken to the Tower, 71; Sent to Newgate, 72; Report of the Trial, 72; Release, 75; In Holland and Germany, 75; Letter to Dr. Hoesbert, 76; at Herwerden, 76; Return to Chalfont, 77; Marriage, 77; Controversy with Thos. Hicks, 79; Letter to Ludovic Muggleton, 79; Connection with N. J., 101; Writes Constitution for it, 103; In Holland and Germany, 107; In High Politics, 115, et seq.; Addresses Parliamentary Committee, 119; Guildford Election, 121; Bramber Election 123; Writes Letter to the Children of Light, 124; Writes Prefaces to Statistical Records of Sufferings, 126; Writes Circular on his Colony, 133; Death of his mother, 137; Writes Frame of Government, 137; Letter to wife and children, 145; Sails to Pennsylvania, 152; Farewell Letter to Colonists, 165; Courtier, 167-185; Defends Buckingham, 173; to the Hague, 180; On Declaration of Indulgence, 182; In retirement, 193; Writes Epistle to Friends, 194, 196; Liberated, 223, 228; Government restored, 224; Compromise with Government, 224; Ministry, 233; To Pennsylvania, 249, 252; Frees Slaves, 261; Returns to save Province, 265; Tries to sell to Government, 272, 297; Writes Letter to Assembly, 276; In Old Bailey, 294; Authorship, 296; Stroke, 298; Mental weakness, 299; Death, 301; Will, 301; His standing, 305; His critics, 306; Strain of his life, 307.
Pennsbury, 163, 257, 304.
Pennsylvania, Born, 127; Charter signed, 130; Anglican Chaplain, 130; Its name, 130; annexed to New York, 193; Faction, 213; Happiness, 284; Size, 284, 285.
Pennsylvania Pilgrim, 261.
Pension Parliament Dissolved, 119.
Pepys, 15, 16, 25, 26, 37, 40, 61.
Perrot, John, 91-93.
Persecution Described, 97, 172; Relieved, 173.
Persuasive to Moderation, 174.
Peter the Great, 239, 240.
Petition against Oaths, 234.
Philadelphia, Planned, 136; Visited, 155; Plan, 156; Size, 267, 283.
Plain Dealing with a Traducing Anabaptist, 80.
Popish Plot, 120.
Popple, 175, 197.
Presbyterians, 286.
Preston, Mrs., 155.
Preston, Lord, 195.
Primitive Christianity Revived, 238.

Princess Elisabeth of the Rhine, 76, 109.
Proprietary Governments, 266.
Public Grammar School, 217.

Quaker a Christian, 241,
Quakerism on the Continent, 113.
Quakerism no Christianity, by John Faldo. 80,
Quakerism a New Nickname for Old Christianity, 80.
Quarry, Col., 227, 257, 267, 269, 273, 287, 294, 299.

REACTION in Governor's Favour, 271.
Reading, 299.
Reason against Railing, 86.
Religion in Youth, 22, 29.
Remonstrance of Assembly, 274.
Restoration Drama, 47.
Revenue Difficulties, 262, 270; Loyalty, 271.
Revolution, 185.
Rhode Island, 266.
Rickmansworth, 77, 94, 102, 304.
Rights of Juries, 50.
Rise and Progress, 231.
Robinson, Sir John, 41.
Rodes, Sir John, 249.
Rotterdam, 108.
Rous, Margaret, 306.
Ruscombe, 297, 304.

SALE to Crown attempted, 297.
Salee, 14.
Salem, N. J., 102, 272.
Sanday, Dr., 91.
Sandy Foundation Shaken, 40.
Saumur, 23, 310,
Seasonable Caveat against Popery, A. 63.
Separation from the World, 253.
Serious Apology for Quakers, 75.
Seven Bishops, Trial, 185.
Seven Years War, 284, 287.
Shackamaxon, Treaty, at, 157.
Shaftesbury, 117, 120.
Shangarry, 18; Lawsuit, 27; Unprofitable, 187.
Sidney, Algernon, 23, 117, 124; Letter to, 135.
Sidney, Henry, Lord Romney, 123; 162, 195.
Slavery, 136, 260, 261, 282.
Smith, Aaron, 176.
Society of Free Traders, Letter to, 164.
Socrates, 83, 84.
Some Fruits of Solitude, 205.
Spencer, Robert, Earl of Sunderland, 22.
Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith, 93.
Spirit of the Hat, 93.
Spirit of the Quakers Tried, 79.
Spirit of Truth Vindicated, 79.
Springett, Lady, 65, 66.
Springett, Wm., 66.
Springett, Gulielma Maria, 64, 66, 67.
Srpingett, Herbert, 292, 294.
Standard Book of Friends' Practice. 46.
Starling, Lord Mayor of London, 51 60.
Stillingfleet, 44, 45.
S. Omer, 178.
Story, Thomas, 239, 300, 301, 305.
Stuart, Jane, 112.
Subliminal Self, 89, 90.
Sunderland, Earl of, 117, 128.
Swift, Dean, 305.

TAUNTON Schoolgirls, 311.
Tedyuscung, 289, 90.
Test Act, 95.
Testimony to the Truth of God, 247.
Testimony by Reading M.M., 303.
Tillotson, 178, 179, 195, 304.
Toleration Act, 188.
Toleration in Pennsylvania, 264.
Tower of London, 41.
Treatise on Oaths, 78, 95.
Treaty of Dover, 63.
Treaty with Indians, 157.
Trenchard, Jack, 175.
Trinity, 39, 40, 45.
Truth Exalted, 35.
Truth Rescued from Imposture, 60, 75.
Turner, Robert, 130, 135, 220.
Tyranny and Hypocrisy detected, 93.

UNIVERSALITY of the Divine Light, 62.
Urim and Thummin, 80.

VANITY, Customs and Fashions, 47.
Vices, 48.
Vincent, Thomas, 39.
Vindication, by John Faldo, 80.
Visitation to the Jews, 233.

WALKING Purchase, 289.
Wanstead, 19, 44, 58.
War Tax, 222, 263; Effects of, 267, 286.
Waterford, 242.
Webb, Maria, 67.
West New Jersey, 103, 105.
Whitehead, George, 39, 88, 199, 274, 305.
Whitlocke, Sir Bulstrode, 296.
Wilcocks beats Evans, 261.
William of Orange, 180, 311.
Winding Sheet for Controversy Ended, 80.
Wisdom Justified of Her Children, 80.
Witchcraft, 163.
Worminghurst, 102; hours at, 144, 240; Sold, 291.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAITS OF WILLIAM PENN

PORTRAIT IN ARMOUR. (*Frontispiece.*)

The late R. Pearsall Smith,* in his interesting notes on Penn portraits (MS. in Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London) says :—" When in Ireland, Penn's portrait in armour was painted at the age of twenty-two, when he had ' a modish person grown—quite the fine gentleman.' Of this there are four painted copies in existence. One belongs to Dugald Stuart, Esq., of Tempsford Hall, Bedfordshire, the present representative of the descendants of that branch of the Penns who inherited his Pennsylvanian interests. A second is at the residence of Lord Dumfurlane in Ireland. A third was given to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by the late Granville John Penn, Esq., of Stoke Park, Windsor. The fourth is at Pennsylvania Castle in the Isle of Portland, on the south coast of England, built by the Penns early in the nineteenth century and now the property of J. Merrick Head, Esq. From internal evidence and the fact of the descent of this painting through the successive heads of the family for four generations, it is highly probable or even certain, that this is the original from which the others have been painted."

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS (facing p. 160.)

When Benjamin West painted his picture no likeness of Penn seems to have been available, and Penn's features bear no resemblance to the authentic Bevan ivory medallion described later. Moreover, the artist has painted Penn as an elderly man, whereas when the first famous treaty was made with the Indians, he was in the prime of life, and very active (see page 157). Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, who wrote a sketch of the private life of Penn very justly says : " Mr. West and, I believe, all the other painters who have introduced the early Quakers into their pictures, are chargeable with very great mistakes in the costumes which they have selected for them ; in many instances giving them hats

* R, Pearsall Smith's Notes were compiled some years ago, and certain changes in ownership have taken place.

and coats of a form not even invented for half a century after the date of the scene they wished to represent on their canvas." West probably painted the dresses from his recollections of what he had seen worn by the Friends in his early years in Pennsylvania about 1730.

Mr. Pearsall Smith adds that " the other figures in the picture are authenticated by tradition. Mrs. Margaret Hill Hilles, when a child, was taken by James Logan, Jr., to see the engraving of West's picture. Mr. Logan, placing his finger on the figure holding the parchment, said, ' that's my father ; and the one looking between the other two is Governor Thomas Lloyd. The one behind and next to James Logan is Thomas Story, and beyond him is Samuel Carpenter. The principal Indian chief is Wingohocking." In a letter to his brother William West of Derby, dated July 12th, 1775, Benjamin West says : " In the group of Friends that accompany William Penn, that is the likeness of our brother who stands immediately behind Penn, resting on his cane." It is not to be concluded that these Friends were actually present ; not more than two of them can have been.

The Bevan Medallion of Penn (facing p. 296).

Mr. R. Pearsall Smith saw this Penn medallion in 1845 in the possession of Paul Bevan, a Friend of Tottenham, the grandfather of Alfred Waterhouse, to whom it descended. The circumstances of its origin are related in a letter to his correspondent for thirty years, Henry Home, Lord Kames, by Benjamin Franklin : " When Lord Cobham was setting up the statues of famous men in his garden at Stowe, he made inquiry for a likeness of Penn, but could find none. Sylvanus Bevan, a Quaker, who had a great talent for cutting likenesses of persons whom he had known, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted. From his accurate memory he cut this very ivory medallion and sent it to Lord Cobham without any letter or information. On receiving it, my lord, who had personally known Penn, immediately exclaimed, ' Whence came this ? It is William Penn himself.' "

The " Place " Portraits of William and Hannah Penn (facing pp. 238 and 241).

These portraits are by William Place, a Durham artist, and were long in the possession of Surtees, the historian of Durham. They are now at Blackwell Grange in the possession of Sir Henry Havelock Allen. The question has been raised as to whether the portrait is that of William Penn's father, but the artist only worked during a very few years of Admiral Penn's

life, and during those years he lived at York, whilst Admiral Penn was in London. Copies of these pictures have been made for America, and have been placed in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

PORTRAIT OF GULIELMA MARIA PENN.

The original of this portrait is a painting on glass in the possession of the descendants of Henry Swan, of Holmwood, Dorking, who died in 1769. It was given to him by John Townsend, of London, at an unknown date, and along with it one of William Penn.—*From "Penns and Peningtons," by Maria Webb.*

There is considerable divergence of opinion among authorities on Penn as to the authenticity of the portrait. A somewhat similar portrait of Hannah Middleton Gurney, first engraved in 1746, is in existence under the title of "The Fair Quakeress."

In the Friends' Institute Collection in London there is an oil painting said to be Gulielma Penn in middle life, but there is very little evidence as to its genuineness.

INDIAN TREATY BELT (facing p. 261).

Consisting of strings of wampum, the ground white, with diagrams of violet-coloured beads. Originally there were three belts which belonged to the Penn family, one being presented by Granville John Penn, great grandson of William Penn, to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These belts formed an important part in negotiating or carrying out transactions with the Indians. "By these means," writes Clarkson, "the Indians pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the Sun and Moon should endure." The two figures in the centre are evidently intended to represent an Indian grasping the hand of friendship of a European. Wampum is manufactured from a species of sea-shell.

LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN TO MARGARET FOX (facing p. 192).

Lond. 13th 11 mo., 90 (Jan. 91).

Dear M. Fox,

With the dear remembrance of my unfeigned love in Christ Jesus, I am to be the teller to you of sorrowful tidings as I may call it in some sense, which is this that thy dear husband and my beloved and dear friend, G. Fox, has finished his glorious testimony this night about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath. O he is gone and left us in the storm that is over our heads, surely in great mercy to him, but as an evidence to us of sorrow to come. He was as living and firm Fourth Day

last was a week at Gracechurch Street and this last First Day, being the day before yesterday, but complained after meeting of being inwardly struck, and lay ever since at H(enry) Gol(dneys), where he departed. My soul is deeply affected with this hasty great loss; surely it portends to us great evils to come. A prince indeed is fallen in Israel to-day.

I cannot enlarge, for I shall write to several to-night, and it is late.

The Lord be with thee and thine, and us all. Amen.

I am thy faithful and affect. friend,

WM. PENN.

Present: Ro. Barrow, J. Taylor, J. Vaughton, J. Field, J. Butcher, Sam Waldrenfield and myself. G. W(hitehead) and S. Cr(isp) were here about two hours since.

He died as he lived, a lamb, minding the things of God and His church to the last in an universal Spirit.

JORDANS MEETING HOUSE AND BURIAL GROUND (facing pp. 95 and 304).

It was in 1671 that Jordans was conveyed from a certain William Russell, a Quaker farmer, to Thomas Ellwood and others to be used as a burial ground by the Friends. At this time Friends had several temporary meeting-houses in the neighbourhood. One was at Old Jordans Farm, just above the burial ground on the road to Chalfont St. Giles. This farm was purchased a few years ago by Friends and enlarged for use as a hostel for visitors to the neighbourhood. The present Meeting-house was built in 1688.

In the burial ground very few of the graves have headstones. At one time Friends had a strong objection to anything of the kind, and it has only been within recent years that the graves of William Penn and his family have been thus marked. The founder of Pennsylvania lies buried in the same grave as his second wife, Hannah Penn, the fair Gulielma Maria (*née* Springett) lying between it and that of her noble-hearted mother, Mary Penington.

LIBRARY
WINEBRENNER THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
Conference

86- 0659

F
152.2 Graham, John William
.G73 William Penn, founder of
1924 Pennsylvania.

DATE DUE

WINEBRENNER THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY LIBRARY
701 E. Melrose Avenue
Findlay, Ohio 45840

86- 0659

WINEBRENNER SEMINARY
F152.2 .G73 1924 wimai
Graham, John William/William Penn
3 0733 00023 1498

WINEBRENNER SEMINARY LIBRARY